

Pl. I. Paris. suppl. gr. 309, f. VI.

MANUEL PALAEOLOGUS
FUNERAL ORATION

CORPUS FONTIUM HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

CONSILIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS STUDIIS
BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE EDITUM

VOLUMEN XXVI

MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS
FUNERAL ORATION
ON HIS BROTHER THEODORE

EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT ET ADNOTAVIT

JULIANA CHRYSOSTOMIDES

SERIES THESSALONICENSIS

EDIDIT
IOHANNES KARAYANNOPULOS

**APUD SOCIETATEM STUDIORUM
BYZANTINORUM
THESSALONICAE MCMLXXXV**

MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS
FUNERAL ORATION
ON HIS BROTHER
THEODORE

INTRODUCTION, TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES

ASSOCIATION FOR BYZANTINE RESEARCH

THESSALONIKE

1985

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ - ΕΚΤΥΠΩΣΗ
ΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ ΑΛΤΙΝΤΖΗΣ, ΕΘΝ. ΑΜΥΝΗΣ 38, ΤΗΛ. 221.529, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

ΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΜΝΗΣΙΝ

π. Raymond-J. Loenertz O.P.

Νικολάου ἀδελφοῦ
καὶ μητρός

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP = *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.*

AOM = *Archives of the Order of St. John,* Royal Malta Library.

ASV = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia.*

B = *Byzantion*

BARKER, *Manuel II* = J. W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N. J. 1969).

BECh = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.*

BELGRANO, 'Documenti' = L. T. BELGRANO, 'Studi e documenti su la colonia genovese di Pera (prima serie)', *Atti della Società ligure di Storia Patria,* 13 (1877), 97-317.

BON, *La Morée franque* = A. BON, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaie (1205-1430),* vol. 1 (Paris, 1969).

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London.

BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*

CBB = *Chronica Byzantina Breviora (Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken),* ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. CFHB, XII (Vienna, 1975-79).

CESSI, 'Amedeo di Acaia' = R. CESSI, 'Amedeo di Acaia e la rivendicazione dei domini Sabaudi in Oriente', *NAV,* n.s. 37 (1919), 5-64.

CESSI, 'Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia' = R. CESSI, 'Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo', *NAV,* n.s. 30 (1915), 147-73.

CFHB = Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.

CHALCOCANDYLES (B) = LAONICUS CHALCOCANDYLES, *Historiarum demonstrationes,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1843);
(D) = ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1922-27).

CHINAZZO = DANIELE DI CHINAZZO, *Cronica de la guerra da Veneciani a Zenovesi,* ed. V. Lazzarini (*Monumenti Storici, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie,* n.s., XI) (Venice, 1958).

Chron. br. 162 = 'Chronicon breve de graecorum imperatoribus ab anno 1341 ad annum 1453 e codice Vaticano graeco 162', ed. R.-J. Loenertz, *EEBΣ,* 28(1958), 204-15.

Chron. Mor. = R.-J. LOENERTZ, 'La chronique brève moréote de 1423. Texte, traduction et commentaire', ST, 232 (1964), 399-439.

CHRYSOSTOMIDES, 'Corinth' = J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, 'Corinth 1394-1397: some new facts', *Byzantina,* 7 (1975), 83-110.

CHRYSOSTOMIDES, 'Studies on Caroldo' = J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, 'Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo, with special reference to the history of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377', *OCP,* 35 (1969), 123-82.

Commemoriali = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Commemoriali.*

CYDONES = DEMETRIUS CYDONES, *Correspondence*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, 2 vols. ST, 186, 208 (Vatican City, 1956-60).

CYDONES *'Prooemien'* = DEMETRIUS CYDONES, 'Prooemien zu Chrysobullen von Demetrios Cydones', ed. K.E. Zacharia von Ligenthal Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1888, 2, 1409-22.

DELAVILLE LE ROULX = J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310-1421* (Paris, 1913).

DENNIS, *The reign* = G. T. DENNIS, *The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (= *OCA*, 159) (Rome, 1960).

DENNIS, 'Three reports' = G. T. DENNIS, 'Three reports from Crete on the situation in Romania, 1401-1402', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 243-65.

DOC = *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)*, ed. A. Rubió i Lluch (Barcelona, 1947).

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*

DOS = Dumbarton Oaks Studies.

DUCAS (B) = DUCAS, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834);
(G) = ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958).

ΕΕΒΣ = *'Επετηρὶς τῆς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.*

GERLAND, *Neue Quellen* = E. GERLAND, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903).

GREGOROVIUS, 'Briefe' = F. GREGOROVIUS, 'Briefe aus der Corrispondenza Acciajoli in der Laurenziana zu Florenz', Sitzungsb. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil-hist. Klasse, 1890, pp. 285-311.

GREGOROVIUS-LAMPROS = F. GREGOROVIUS, *'Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως 'Αθηνῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας* ... tr. by S. Lampros, vol. 2 (Athens, 1904).

IGNACE OF SMOLENSK (K) = IGNACE OF SMOLENSK, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, tr. by S. F. Khitrovo (Geneva, 1889), pp. 129-57.
(S) = IGNACE OF SMOLENSK, tr. R. SOLOMON, *Beiträge zur russischen Geschichte. Theodor Schiemann zur 60 Geburstage von Freunden und Schülern*, dargebracht und herausgegeben von Hötzsch (Berlin, 1907), pp.

ISIDORE = ISIDORE OF KIEV, *Πανηγυρικός*, *PP* III, pp. 132-99.

JOCHALAS, 'Über die Einwanderung der Albaner' = T. JOCHALAS, 'Über die Einwanderung der Albaner in Griechenland (Ein zusammenfassende Betrachtung)', *Dissertationes Albanicae in honorem Josephi Valentini et Ernesti Koliqi* (München, 1971), pp. 89-106.

LAMPROS, *"Εγγραφα* = S. LAMPROS, *"Εγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν 'Αθηνῶν* (Athens, 1906), as v. 3 to F. Gregorovius, 'Ιστορία... v. supra.

LAURENT, 'Le trisépiscopat' = V. LAURENT, 'Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^{e} siècle', *REB*, 30 (1972), 5-166.

Le livre des faicts = *Le livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre dit Boucicaut*, ed. Th. Godefroy (Paris, 1620).

Lettere di Rettori = Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Lettere di Rettori (busta unica).

R.-J. LOENERTZ = *Where applicable, all articles cited here refer to the author's BF-G collection.*

LOENERTZ, 'Athènes et Néopatras' = R.-J. LOENERTZ, 'Athènes et Néopatras I. Régestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311-1394)', *AFP*, 25 (1955), 100-212, 428-431; rep. *BF-G*, II, 183-303.

LOENERTZ, *BF-G* = R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1970, 1978).

LOENERTZ, 'Les dominicains byzantins' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430', *AFP*, 9 (1939), 5-61; rep. *BF-G*, II, 77-130.

LOENERTZ, 'L'exil de Manuel II' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'L'exil de Manuel II Paléologue à Lemnos 1387-1389', *OCP*, 38 (1972), 116-40.

LOENERTZ, 'Hospitaliers' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce (1376-1383). Régestes et documents', *OCP*, 22 (1956), 319-360; rep. *BF-G*, I, 329-69.

LOENERTZ, 'Jean V' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Jean V Paléologue à Venice 1370-1371', *REB*, 16 (1958), 217-32.

LOENERTZ, 'Pour l'histoire' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^{e} siècle *(1382-1404)', REB*, 1 (1943), 152-96; rep. *BF-G*, I, 227-65.

LOENERTZ, *'Res Gestae'* = 'Res Gestae Theodori Ioann. f. Palaeogi. Titulus metricus A.D. 1389', ed. R-J. Loenertz, *EEBΣ*, 25 (1955), 207-10.

LOENERTZ, 'Une erreur' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocandyle: le prétendu second marriage de Jean V Paléologue', *REB*, 15 (1957), 176-84; rep. *BF-G*, I, 383-92.

LOENERTZ, 'Une page de Jérôme Zurita' = R-J. LOENERTZ, 'Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce (1386)', *REB*, 14 (1956), 158-68; rep. *BF-G*, I, 371-81.

MANUEL PALAELOGUS, *Dialogues* = MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'*, ed. E. Trapp, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, II (Vienna, 1968).

MANUEL PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters* = MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *The letters of Manuel Palaeologus*, ed. G. T. Dennis, CFHB, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1977).

MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro* = G. MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno*, ST, (1926).

Misti = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Misti.*

MM = *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860-90).

MSSM = *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*, ed. S. Ljubić, vol. IV (Zagreb, 1874).

NAV = *Nuovo Archivio Veneto.*

NE = *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων.*

NICOL, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos* = D.M. NICOL, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100-1460*, DOS, XI (Washington, D.C., 1968).

OCA = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta.*

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*

Pacta = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Libri Pactorum.*

PG = Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857-66).

PP = ed. S. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1912-30).

PREDELLI = R. PREDELLI, *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, 8 vols. (Venice, 1876-1914).

REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines.*

Régestes = F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venice concernant la Romanie*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1958-61).

Religieux de Saint-Denys = *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, ed. with French translation by L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. *(Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France)* (Paris, 1839-52).

RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.*

ROL = *Revue de l'Orient Latin.*

SATHAS = ed. C. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge (Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας), 9* vols. (Paris-Venice, 1880-90).

SBN = *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.*

Secreta E = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Secreta Consilii Rogatorum, registro E.*

Secreti = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Secreti.*

SPHRANTZES (PG) = GEORGIUS SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon Minus* (PG, 156) coll. 1025-80.

(G) = GEORGIOS SPHRANTZES, *Memorii*, 1401-1477, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966).

ST = Studi e Testi.

SYMEON = SYMEON, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Politico-historical works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, ed. D. Balfour, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, XIII (Vienna, 1979).

SYROPOULOS = SYLVESTRE SYROPOULOS, *Les Mémoires du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople, Sylvestre Syropoulos, sur le concile de Florence*, ed. V. Laurent (Rome, 1971).

ZACHARIADOU, 'Manuel II Palaeologus' = E. A. ZACHARIADOU, 'Manuel II Palaeologus on the strife between Bayezid I and Kadi Burhan al-Din Ahmad', *BSOAS*, 43 (1980), 471-81.

ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat* = D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, rev. by C. Maltezou, 2 vols. (Variorum London, 1975).

LIST OF SIGNS

MANUSCRIPTS

E = *cod. Scorial. gr. 243* (cf. pp. 41-2).
Ea = *cod. Scorial. gr. 14* (cf. pp. 32-4).
P = *cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 309* (cf. pp. 34-7).
    P^1 = text copied from X archetype of the revised version.
    P^2 = first revision
    P^3 = second revision
    P^4 = third revision
    P^5 = fourth revision
    P^6 = fifth revision
    P^7 = sixth and final revision resulting in P.
V = *cod. Vat. gr. 1450* (cf. pp. 37-8).
Va = *cod. Vat. gr. 632* (cf. pp. 40-1).
Ve = *cod. Vat. gr. 16* (cf. pp. 39-40).
    Ve^1 = text copied from X archetype of the revised version.
    Ve^2 = first revision (= P^2) resulting in Ve.
W = *cod. Österr. Nationalb. Phil. gr. 98* (cf. p. 39).

EDITIONS

C = edition by Combéfis (cf. pp. 55-6).
C-M = Combéfis text as found in the Migne edition (cf. pp. 55-6).
L = edition by Lampros (cf. pp. 56-7).
M = edition by Migne (cf. pp. 55-6).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Manuel II Palaeologus
Funeral Oration

FOREWORD

During my stay in Venice in 1963-4 as Virginia Gildersleeve Fellow, working on the revision of my thesis on Manuel II Palaeologus for publication, I met Fr. Raymond - J. Loenertz O. P., who suggested that instead I prepare a new edition with translation of the Emperor's Funeral Oration on his brother Theodore. In his second visit to Venice that year, realizing that I was going over the same material and transcribing documents that he had himself already copied, in order to save me time, he generously offered me the transcriptions he so far had made of the *Misti* and *Secreti.* He also suggested that some of these documents might appear as an appendix to the edition of the Funeral Oration. I have since added new material with the result that the number of these documents, so essential for the history of medieval Greece, is now too large to appear in an appendix and too important to be left out altogether. To avoid therefore overburdening the present edition, either with a detailed historical introduction or with appended illustrative material, these documents will now be published separately together with a more extensive historical analysis.

The preparation of the edition of the Funeral Oration for various reasons was delayed, so that Father Loenertz never saw any of the work, with the exception of my findings on the relationship of the manuscripts which I communicated to him in my letters. Had he been able to see the present edition he would have saved it from errors that it might contain.

Of the friends who gave me help I would like to thank particularly Dr. Elizabeth Zachariadou who read the whole manuscript and made some important corrections, Mrs. Alison Brown, Dr. Athanasios Angelou, Dr. Anthony T. Luttrell and Fr. George T. Dennis. Above all, I would like to thank Professor J. M. Hussey whom I owe a particular debt. It was my privilege to work with her, first as a postgraduate student and later as a colleague, and I have always profited from her teaching and knowledge which she gave unstintingly. Professor Hussey read the whole manuscript, made useful suggestions and corrected the English of the translation twice. Whatever stylistic merit the translation possesses is entirely due to her. I am responsible for any error of interpretation that it might contain.

I would like to express my particular thanks to Monsignor P. Canart, Mr. Ch. Astruc, the State Archive in Venice, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the

Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Marciana, the Library of Escorial, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the British Library.

I would also like to thank M[me] P. Katsone of the Association for Byzantine Research of Thessalonike, for her painstaking and skilled help in seeing the book through the press.

I am indebted to the International Federation of University Women for a year's research in the Archives of Venice in 1963-4 when most of the corroborative material was collected. I would also like to thank the University of London Central Research Fund and The Twenty-Four Foundation Awards for grants towards the completion of this work.

The publication of this edition would have been impossible without the generous grants from the following: The Association for Byzantine Research of Thessalonike; the Late Miss Isobel Thornley's Bequest to the University of London; the British Academy; and the Marc Fitch Fund. To the Councils of these bodies, I am deeply grateful.

Royal Holloway College
University of London
1985

J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES

INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

The Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, the second son of John V and Helena Cantacuzene, was born in Constantinople on 27 June 1350[1]. He is first heard of in diplomatic negotiations in 1355 when his father wrote to Pope Innocent VI to ask for military help against the Ottomans. In return for help he promised to accept the absolute authority of the Papal See and convert his family and his people within six months, offering as a pledge to send Manuel to Rome to be adopted by the Pope and brought up as a Catholic[2]. At the age of sixteen Manuel accompanied his father in the winter of 1366 on a personal embassy to Buda to plead for assistance. This proved an utter failure, for King Louis of Hungary treated the Emperor with insulting distrust and even insisted on Manuel being left behind as a hostage[3]. After his return from Buda, Manuel was appointed governor of Thessalonica, and though very little is known of his activities there, he seems to have already by then initiated his project of consolidating the Empire. As a first step he aimed at freeing the Byzantine possessions which had fallen under the Serbian occupation. Sometime in November 1371, taking advantage of the Serbian defeat at the battle of Marica by the Ottomans, he took possession of some territories, including Serres. His success did not last long. By the following year these areas were conquered by the Turks. For the crashing defeat of the Serbs enabled the Ottomans to infiltrate into Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania and reduce both Bulgaria and Byzantium to the position of vassal states[4].

The external political pressures on Byzantium brought about by the Ottoman advance into the Balkans were further increased by the dynastic

---

1. Loenertz, «Une erreur», pp. 389-91.

2. ed. A. Theiner & F. Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem Ecclesiarum graecae et romanae* (Vienna, 1872), no. 8, pp. 29-37.

3. Cydones «*Prooemien*», p. 1419.

4. Prototaton MS no. 21, ed. P. N. Papageorgiou, BZ, 3 (1894), 316 n. 2; Cydones, «*Prooemien*», p. 1421-22; G. Ostrogorski, «Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire Turc», *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta,* 5 (1958), 49-58.

conflicts which were to shake the Empire for the following two decades. In 1373 Manuel succeeded his brother Andronicus IV after the latter's revolt against his father and he reigned as co-emperor until 1376. In that year Andronicus staged his second revolt, instigated by the Genoese of Pera in order to prevent the strategically important island of Tenedos being ceded by John V to the Venetians. With Turkish help he succeeded in overthrowing his father and brother and incarcerating them in the Tower of Anemas. Three years later, in the summer of 1379, they escaped from imprisonment and with Turkish and Venetian assistance recaptured the City[5]. Probably under pressure from the Genoese and perhaps also the Venetians a reconciliation between John V and Andronicus IV was seemingly effected in 1381/2 which barred Manuel from the throne[6]. Whether out of disappointment or for other reasons he decided, against his father's wishes, to return secretly to Thessalonica. There he attempted to pursue an independent course of action, and in opposition to his father's policy of appeasement towards the Ottomans he opened hostilities against them. After some initial victories the Turks besieged the city for four years ending with its capture in 1387 and Manuel's submission to Murad I[7].

For this disastrous adventure which cost the Empire the loss of Thessalonica he was exiled by his father to the island of Lemnos[8]. But by the summer of 1389 he was reconciled with him and was once more recognized as heir apparent, since the agreement of 1381/2 regulating the order of succession had been rendered null and void by Andronicus IV's third rebellion in 1385 and subsequent death[9]. This new agreement however excluded the Emperor's grandson John VII, the son of Andronicus, from the throne. This was unacceptable to John and with Genoese and Turkish help he seized the City in 1390. With enormous energy Manuel enlisted the help of the Hospitallers and was able to oust John from the capital[10]. On his father's death a few months later on 16 February 1391 Manuel succeeded to the

---

5. CBB I, 9 §§ 24-6, 31-2; Chinazzo, pp. 17-8, 214-6; Ducas (B) 43-6 = (G) 71-3; Chron. br., 162 §§11, 13-4 (= CBB, I, 22 §§ 15-17); Cydones 167, pp. 38-9; 222, pp. 106-7; 224, p. 115; CBB I, 7 § 19; Chrysostomides, «Studies on Caroldo», p. 153ff.

6. MM II, no. 344, pp. 25-7; Belgrano, *Documenti*, no. 26, pp. 133-40.

7. Cydones 203, 243, 244, 247, 259, 312, 332, pp. 80-1, 146-8, 150-1, 163-66, 238; Dennis, *The reign*, pp. 57ff; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris, 1973), doc. no. 30, p. 175*3-5*.

8. Loenertz, «L' exil de Manuel II», p. 116ff.

9. R. Cessi, «Amedeo di Acaia», pp. 18-9; Cydones 308, p. 320; CBB I, 7 § 20.

10. CBB I, 7 §§ 21-22; Ignace of Smolensk (K), pp. 140-2 = (S), pp. 256-8; Loenertz, «Jean V», pp. 231-2. See also below p. 140n. 62.

throne[11].

These early years were undoubtedly the most humiliating period of his life, as his letters and *Dialogues* indicate. As a vassal to the Turks he had to participate with his contingent in the two campaigns Bayezid led in Asia Minor in 1390 and 1391[12]. He was forced to witness atrocities, suffer hardships and indignities. But what he found unbearable was, as he wrote, the thought that he 'had to fight along with those and on behalf of those whose every increase in strength lessens our own strength'[13].

For the next thirty-four years he governed the Empire indefatigably, trying to strengthen the central authority, enhance the unity of the Church[14] and consolidate Byzantine rule in the scattered enclaves by bringing them under the direct authority of Constantinople. At the same time he adroitly managed to keep his independence despite his vassalage to the Turks. In 1393/4 however Sultan Bayezid adopted a more aggressive policy than his predecessor Murad I and tried to impose stricter control on his vassals[15]. This new move forced Manuel to break with Bayezid and face the long Ottoman siege of Constantinople. During these desperate years the Emperor sought to arouse the conscience of the West against the Turks. His appeal found a response in King Sigismund for at the time Hungary's independence was also threatened by the Ottomans. At Sigismund's request Pope Boniface IX preached a Holy War[16]. The outcome of this was the minor crusade, mainly a Franco-Hungarian effort, which ended in disaster at Nicopolis in 1396. Despite this debacle Manuel persevered and his ambassadors roamed the western courts for help. As a result of his direct appeal to Charles VI of France, a small French force under Maréchal Boucicaut arrived in autumn 1399 bringing some relief to the hard-pressed capital. It was at the suggestion of Boucicaut that Manuel decided to travel to Italy, France and England personally to solicit military assistance[17]. His expectations were never

---

11. CBB I, 7 § 23.

12. Zachariadou, «Manuel II Paleaologus», p. 471ff.

13. *Letters* 19,*8-10;* 14,*23-29;* 15,*37-39;* 16,*7-14, 64-75; Dialogues* p. 5,*9-11;* X, pp. 120,*23*-121,*5;* V, p. 50,*1-7;* XV, p. 190,*8-11.*

14. This is clearly reflected in the controversy concerning Patriarch Matthew I, though the Emperor was accused by his opponents of governing the Church with an iron-rod (Laurent, «Le trisépiscopat», pp. 5-166, particularly pp. 30, 52-3, 93-6, 132, *169-173.*

15. This is clearly reflected in Manuel's narrative, Funeral Oration p. 137.

16. Ducas (B) 50 = (G) 79· O. Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici,* ed. J. D. Mansi (Luca, 1752), XXVI, pp. 584-6. Cf. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1886), v.I., p. 228.

17. Le Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique,* ed. & tr. L. Bellaguet (Paris, 1839), v. 2,

realized, for despite the most extravagant promises and sincere compassion shown to him he achieved nothing. Aid came in more or less accidental way from a different quarter — from the Mongols under Timur, who defeated Bayezid at the battle of Ankara (1402) and brought about the fragmentation of the Turkish state. The hereditary rulers in Asia Minor recovered their independence while the sons of Bayezid competed for the remaining Turkish possessions. Manuel did his best to turn this struggle for supremacy in the Ottoman Empire to his favour by playing one pretender against the other. In this he had some success, and until 1419 the Empire enjoyed relative peace which enabled the Emperor to embark on a policy of reconstruction. His first move towards political and economic improvement was aimed at strengthening the central government. After Theodore's death in 1407 Manuel governed the Byzantine province in the Peloponnese through his sons and was entirely responsible for the policy pursued in this area. His drastic measures to curb the centrifugal tendencies of magnates and his attempts to expand at the expense of the foreign principalities can all be seen as part of this policy.

In his dealings with the West military assistance for the rescue of the Empire and the union of the two Churches remained his main preoccupation[18]. Manuel seems to have been in favour of union not simply as a device against the Turks, but also because he genuinely desired reconciliation. He undoubtedly bore a genuine admiration for the West as his description of the Hospitallers extolling their aspirations, energy, dedication and military prowess amply demonstrates. Alive to the idea that his country and the West were bound together by their common faith in Christianity he seems to have regarded their religious differences far from irreconcilable[19]. Yet, he was fully aware of the difficulties involved. For as long as his people demanded union with Rome on their own terms, no agreement could have a

---

Bk. 18, ch. 8, Bk. 20, ch. 3, pp. 558-62, 690-92; *Le livre des faicts,* Bk. I, chs. 30-34, pp. 117-134; Jean Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI,* edd. Michaud et Poujoulat, (*Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France,* Ie série, t. II, Paris, 1836), p. 412b. For his stay in the West, see Barker, *Manuel II,* p. 122ff.; for a revised chronology see below p. 162 n. 88 ; D. M. Nicol, «A Byzantine Emperor in England, Manuel II's visit to London in 1400-1401», *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* 12 (1971), 204-25.

18. O. Halecki, «Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident», *Collectanea Theologica,* (Lwów) 18 (1937), 476-532; Cirac Estopañan, *La unión, Manuel II Paléologo y sus recuerdos en España* (Barcelona, 1952); Loenertz, «Les dominicains byzantins», pp. 77-130; Cf. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 16ff.; H.-G. Beck, «Byzanz und der Westen im Zeitalter des Konziliarismus», *Die Welt zur Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen 9,* Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 135-48; Barker, *Manuel II,* pp. 123ff., 320ff.

19. Funeral Oration, pp. 167-77; *Letters 37,13-15,* p. 101.

lasting effect. And reunion with Rome without the support of his people, he feared, could only strengthen the schism, bring about the total political isolation of Byzantium and thus expose it further to Turkish aggression. In his assessment of the situation, one assumes, the Union of Lyons and its repercussions could not have been very far from his mind. That is why, in the conversation reported by Sphrantzes, he advised his son to proceed on this matter with caution[20]. And not, as has been often maintained, because Manuel wished to keep the negotiations alive as a deterrent against the Turks without however having the slightest intention of ever arriving at any conclusion. Such an interpretation fails to appreciate both the subtleties of the reported conversation and the complexities of the issue. That Manuel was sincere in his efforts seems to be confirmed by his choice of ambassadors he sent to the West to negotiate union. Among these were Nicholas Eudaïmonoiannes, Theodore Chrysoberges and above all Manuel Chrysoloras, all three ardent unionist; the last two disciples of Cydones and like him converts to the Roman faith. Moreover taking into consideration the profound friendship and respect the Emperor had for both Cydones and Chrysoloras, it is unlikely that his attitude to Roman Catholicism would have been a hostile one, or that he would ever have exploited his friends for political considerations. His belief in Church union is further corroborated by the conversation Manuel had with Demetrius Chrysoloras over prophesies concerning the timing of Church union and its effects on the Christians. On this occasion, though the Emperor expressed doubts over the suggestion that this might take place during his reign, he emphatically rejected the view that such an event would be disastrous for the Christians[21]. It is therefore reasonable to assume that John VIII was not distorting his father's views when, in his address to the Greek clerics in Florence sometime in May 1439,

---

20. Sphrantzes (PG) 1046D-1047A = (G) 58, ch. 23 § 6: «... τὸ περὶ τῆς συνόδου μελέτα μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνακάτονε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἔχῃς χρείαν τινὰ φοβῆσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς· τὸ δὲ νὰ ποιήσῃς αὐτήν, μηδὲν ἐπιχειρισθῇς αὐτό, *διότι οὐδὲν βλέπω τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἁρμόδιοι πρὸς τὸ εὑρεῖν τινα τρόπον ἑνώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι νὰ τοὺς ἐπιστρέψουν εἰς τὸ νὰ ἐσμὲν ὡς ἀρχῆθεν· τούτου δὲ ἀδυνάτου ὄντος σχεδόν, φοβοῦμαι μὴ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γένηται·* καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπεσκεπάσθημεν εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς». With few exceptions the majority of scholars have tended to emphasize those parts of the conversation which shed an adverse light on Manuel, while neglecting those which we have underlined above and which are essential for an accurate and fair interpretation of the Emperor's attitude to Church union. Despite Sphrantzes' bias on the subject it is possible to read between the lines.

21. Syropoulos, pp. 104,*23*-106,*9*; 108,*4-10*; 606,*17-31*; 172,*15*-174,*10*. Manuel's treatise on the Holy Spirit (Codd. Vat. gr. 1107; Barberinus gr. 219) which he composed in Paris has often been regarded as an example of his being «irascibly stubborn in his beliefs»

he reminded his audience that this 'θεῖον ἔργον ... τῆς ἑνώσεως' had been conceived by his late father, a man well-versed in theological matters, as 'being good in itself, pleasing to God and beneficial to his people'[22].

The period of rehabilitation begun in 1402 as a result of the Turkish defeat at Ankara came to an end in 1419 with the renewed struggle for succession among Bayezid's descendants. By then Manuel 'old, sick and nearing death' had delegated his authority to John[23], though he continued to take an active interest in the affairs on the state up to the time of his illness. It was in fact in the morning of 1 October 1423, the day Mustafa, one of the Turkish pretenders, visited him, presumably to seek help against his opponent, that the Emperor suffered a stroke which left him partially paralyzed. He died on 21 July 1425, two days earlier having assumed the monastic habit under the name of Matthew, and he was buried in the monastery of Pantocrator. He was an emperor loved by his people who in great sorrow flocked to his tomb to pay their last tribute[24].

In person Manuel II was of medium height, of athletic build, with a long face and aquiline nose. His hair and beard, which he wore long, had turned completely white before he was fifty. His appearance was impressive. He was a keen huntsman, an agile and splendid horseman who delighted the Parisian crowds when, without touching the ground, he changed horses by jumping from his own on to the white charger offered him by Charles VI during the Emperor's visit to Paris[25].

Information about his character derives primarily from the correspond-

---

and disrespectful of «the niceties of tact in a Latin country» (Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 193). It would be however fair to bear in mind that the Emperor did not write his work as a polemic but as an apology in response to letters on the same subject sent to him by a French theologian 'τόδε τὸ σύγγραμμα οὐκ ἄντικρυς κατὰ Λατίνων ὑφάνθη· ἔστι γὰρ ἀναγκαζομένου μᾶλλον ἀπολογίαν δοῦναι ἢ τουτωνὶ καταφερομένου. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω, δηλοῦσι μὲν αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἀπροΐτου μονάζοντος λατινιστὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γεγραμμέναι, ὧν τὰ βέλη καθ' ἡμῶν ἀφεθέντα ἀνὰ τὸ βιβλίον ἅπαν ὁρᾶται' (*Vat. gr.* 1107, f. 1). It does not therefore seem unreasonable if the Emperor decided to explain the Orthodox point of view to a fellow theologian.

22. Syropoulos, p. 448,*16-23*.

23. Sphrantzes (PG) 1029A-B = (G) 12, ch. 8, § 3.

24. Ibid., (PG) 1030A, 1031C-D, = (G) 14, ch. 11, §§ 1-2; 18, ch. 14, § 1; Syropoulos, p. 112,*17;* Bessarion, «Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ», *PP III, p.* 286,*24-30*.

25. Sphrantzes (PG) 1030A-B = (G) 14, ch. 11 § 2; Le Religieux de Saint-Denys, v. 2, Bk. 21, ch. 1, p. 756. Portraits of the Emperor *Cod. Paris. Suppl. gr.* 309, p. VI, *see* frontiespiece; *Cod. Paris gr. 1783, f. 2* printed in Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 401. For his hunting: Cydones 382,*10-1*, p. 332; 388,*24*, p. 339; 392,*35*, p. 345; 401*,*13-21*, p. 358; Manuel Palaeologus, *Dialogues*, III, pp. 26,*1-2;* X, 120,*1-8* etc.

ence of Cydones, the diary of Sphrantzes and the Emperor's own writings, supplemented by the political events in which he played his part. He was a man with a strong sense of duty who took his position very seriously. Already as governor of Thessalonica and Macedonia in 1371 he had sought to restore the declining fortunes of the Empire. Impetuous at the start of his career, he learnt to adapt himself to circumstances and to bow however reluctantly to the conditions of his day, as the events of 1382-1387 in Thessalonica showed. He bore patiently, though bitterly, his vassalage to the Ottomans but conscientiously adhered to his promises and undertakings to them[26]. That he was a man of honour is clearly reflected in the Serres affair when he decided to break his agreement with the Sultan only under extreme provocation by him[27]. This strong sense of duty to honour his undertakings is equally illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1421 when Mehmet, Bayezid's successor, was rumoured to be preparing an attack on Constantinople. The Emperor's counsellors urged him to have the Sultan arrested as he was passing through Constantinople and put to death. Political considerations apart, which undoubtedly must have entered the Emperor's mind, he refused on the ground that he would upon no account disregard the oath he had sworn to him, even though Mehmet might attack him[28].

Coupled with this sense of duty was his profound sense of justice. Recognizing that he had come to the throne as a result of his eldest brother's successive rebellions, he tried to make amends on three different occasions, in 1393, 1399 and 1403, by recognizing his nephew John VII as his successor, while John in turn adopted Manuel's son John VIII[29]. Events and circumstances clearly showed that he was a good and wise man, forgiving and affectionate, and indeed of noble character.

His love of learning he inherited from his mother Helena Cantacuzene, the daughter of the Emperor historian. It was doubtless to her that he owed his early education[30]. He may have been later taught by Demetrius Cydones, to whom he remained attached and at least on one occasion he achnow-

26. Manuel Palaeologus, *Letters* 14,*11-12, 25-29,* 16, pp. 39, 43-49; Ibid., *Dialogues,* p. 5,*9-11*.

27. Funeral Oration, p. 143,*1-2*.

28. Sphrantzes, (PG) 1027D-1028A = (G) 8, ch. 7 § 1.

29. Loenertz, «Une erreur», pp. 391-2; MM II, no. 556, pp. 359-60. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Embajada a Tamorlán, ed. F. López-Estrada (Madrid, 1943), p. 56; N. Oikonomides, DOP, 31 (1977), 331, 334-35.

30. Cydones 398,*20-25,* p. 353. Cf. R-J. Loenertz, «L'exil de Manuel II», 135. Helena exercised great influence on him, see below p. 103,*3-4*.

ledged his debt to him[31]. In his letter to Alexis Jagoup he confessed that he would have preferred to devote his entire life to learning, but the vicissitudes he experienced from an early age and the demands of the state had made this impossible. Despite this, he found time at rare intervals to pursue his classical studies and his own writing. By nature he was poetic, studious, reflective, but although circumstances compelled him to become a man of action, he remained a man of letters at heart[32].

His reflective nature is clearly shown in his concept of the function of the ruler[33]. He saw the imperial office, and inevitably himself, in terms of the organic theory of the state, in that the community consisted of the head and limbs and that it was therefore the function of the head to look after and care for the limbs. This notion and imagery occurs in a number of passages in the '*Counsels on the education of an emperor*' and in the orations which he addressed to his son. He continually stressed that the interests of a ruler lay in the welfare of his people. Political authority, therefore, if it were to succeed, should not be based on force, since the survival of a state rested on the interdependence of ruler and people. As a thinker he was primarily concerned with the ethical implications of political power and rejected force (βία) on the ground that it was the negation of virtue (ἀρετή)[34]. He showed no interest in exploring the underlying tension between politics and ethics by bringing to bear his own pragmatic and empirical knowledge on the subject. For as a successful ruler in the face of so many odds he must have been aware of the complexities and realities of political power which inevitably often conflict with ethics. On the other hand a strong realism emanating from the actual wielding of political power permeates the *Funeral Oration.*

---

31. *Letters* 11,*24-26*, p. 31; Dennis, *The reign*, p. 14.

32. *Letters* 44,*33-38*, pp. 117-9; Letter to Jagoup, *Cod. Paris gr. 3041*, ff. 73-73^{v} — this section has been edited and translated by Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 528-30, 410-413.

33. The head and body analogy was applied, with different degrees of elaboration, in antiquity either to the army or body politic. Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 2 (Loeb) cites Iphicrates (4th B.C.) in having formulated the analogy with reference to the army. Amongst other writers it is found in Livy II, 32; Seneca, *De Clementia* I, 5, 1; Agapetus, P.G. 86, p. 1177, no. 46; and in Corippus (ed. A. Cameron, London 1976) II, *186-255* in its most elaborate and bizarre form. See also the editor's comments on p. 167. On the conception of the ruler as benefactor and saviour see F. Dvornik, *Byzantine political philosophy* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. 1966), v.l., p. 188ff., v. 2, p. 710ff.

34. P.G. 156, no. 43, pp. 345-8; no. 85, p. 373; pp. 404B-D, 405B; Funeral Oration, p. 207,*23*-209,*2*; *Cod. Paris. gr. 3041, f. 99:* 'ἰδιώτου μὲν γὰρ χρέος εἶναι νομίζω τὸ συναποθανεῖν ἑλέσθαι δεῆσαν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι καὶ ὁμοπίστοις, ἄρχοντος δὲ καὶ βασιλέως τὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι καὶ τὸ θνήσκειν κοῦφον ἡγεῖσθαι φέρειν'. An edition of this work is now being prepared by Dr. A. Angelou.

This makes itself felt in his treatment of the cession of the Byzantine Peloponnese to the Hospitallers and in particular in his advocacy for flexibility when making political choices[35]. Yet, it was perhaps his concern with the Platonic conception of ruling and his attempt to put into practice the beliefs which he held about the functions of a ruler that won him the name of the «φιλόσοφος βασιλεὺς» who made those who came into contact with him keenly aware of his moral qualities «τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλους τοῖς ἅπαξ σοι συγγεγονόσιν ἐπιπέμπεις τὰ βέλη»[36]. He certainly emerges as one of the most civilized and humane rulers of Byzantium.

35. Funeral Oration, p. 167ff; cf. Theodore's Metochites's practical approach to politics: Logos 10, f. 212-212^v cited by I. Ševčenko, Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the intellectual trends of his time, in *Kariye Djami,* v. 4 ed. by P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), pp. 45-6, n. 198.

36. Cydones 259,*23-26,* p. 164; 438,*6-7,* p. 398; Anonymous Funeral Oration on Manuel, Vat. gr. 632, f. 426^v: οὕτω καὶ βασιλεύων ὑπερβάλλει φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφῶν οὐκ ἀφίσταται στρατηγῶν· καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα συνέζευξε καὶ συνήρμοσε, καὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ βασιλείαν.

II. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The theme of the Funeral Oration is Theodore Palaeologus Porphyrogenitus, Despot at Mistra, and his deeds which he performed as ruler of the Despotate between the years 1382 and 1407*.

Theodore was the youngest child of John V and Helena Cantacuzene and though the exact date of his birth is not known he was probably born in the middle or late 50s[1]. According to his brother, he was a precocious boy with a quick and receptive mind, affectionate, courageous and loyal. His loyalty to his family, and particularly to his brother Manuel II, was clearly demonstrated during the events which followed the second revolt of his brother Andronicus IV in 1376. At the time Theodore could have escaped to Thessalonica, whose governor he had been designated earlier in that year, yet he chose to stay behind to nurse his brother Manuel who had been wounded during Andronicus' attack on the palace. Taken prisoner he was held with his father and brother in the tower of Anemas until June 1379 when the three succeeded in escaping and returning to power[2].

After John V's restoration he may have been instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between his father and elder brother since he seems to have been the only male member of the family for whom Andronicus still felt affection[3]. This might explain why Theodore refused to leave Constantinople to take up his new appointment as governor of Mistra, to which office he had been designated shortly before the death on 10 April 1380 of his maternal

* For the use of the term Despotate see R-J. Loenertz, *B,* 43(1973), 361 n.3.

1. His parents were married in 1347; their first son Andronicus was born on 4 April 1348, followed by a daughter Irene sometime in 1349 and Manuel on 17 June 1350 (Loenertz, «Une erreur», pp. 183-3); then came Michael and Theodore. Theodore therefore could not have been born at the earliest before the first months of 1352.

2. Funeral Oration pp. 101-9; CBB I, 7 § 19, 9 § 31, 22 §§ 15-17, II, pp. 311-3, 316-7; Cydones, Letter 167, *13-17,* p. 38; 222, *58-92,* pp. 105-06; Chalcocandyles (B) 60-63 = (D) 55-57; Ducas (B) 45 = (G) 73; Chinazzo 17-8. For Theodore's appointment as governor of Thessalonica see V. Laurent, «Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: la *Néa Moni* de Thessalonique», *REB,* 13 (1955), 109-32; R-J. Loenertz, «Un prostagma perdu de Théodore I Paléologue regardant Thessalonique (1380/82?)», *EEBΣ,* 25 (1955), 170-72.

3. Funeral Oration p. 105, *13-18.*

uncle Manuel Cantacuzenus[4]. Theodore insisted on remaining in the capital until the two parties were reconciled and his mother, her sisters and her father John VI Cantacuzenus, detained by the Genoese, were released from their confinement in Pera[5]. He did not finally leave for the Peloponnese until sometime in autumn 1382, shortly before or after the treaty of 2 November which brought some stability to the political situation in Constantinople, for according to Manuel his brother refused to leave the capital before his father had regained his former position[6]. By then it had become imperative for him to take up his duties at Mistra, for the province was once more in the grips of a fresh civil war led by his cousin Cantacuzenus, the son of the former Emperor Matthew Cantacuzenus who had assumed the interim government after his brother's death. Matthew found himself incapable of suppressing his son's rebellion, though in the later part of his rule he was assisted by his father John VI who had joined him soon after his release from Pera. The situation certainly demanded the energy and courage of a younger man, and John Cantacuzenus and his son insisted that Theodore should assume his office immediately[7].

The situation Theodore faced on his arrival in the Peloponnese was difficult and complex. The Despotate, at the time, consisted of a compact area whose borders ran northwest from Leutron (to the east of Kalamata) as far as Leontarion then veered westwards to Zourtsa enclosing Veligosti and Karytaina. The frontier then proceeded northward to Akova, Tripotamo as far as Kernitsa, turned southward in a winding line taking in Mouchli and Astros and commanding the coastline from Astros via C. Malea and C. Matapan as fas as Leutron. Its western and eastern borders were studded with fortresses that controlled the passes into the plains of Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Corinthia and the Argolis[8]. This was an advantageous position which under an effective ruler might have enabled this Byzantine outpost to extend its conquests in the Peloponnese. Its territory had remained fixed since the Byzantine reconquest of 1320, for Manuel Cantacuzenus who ruled the area from 1349 to 1380 had limited himself to consolidating the

4. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 11, pp. 417-8 (= CBB I, 33 § 11).

5. Funeral Oration p. 111,*14-16;* Cydones, Letter 241, *42-45,* p. 145; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 232-33.

6. Funeral Oration p. 111,*12-14*; Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 13, p. 418-19 (= CBB I, 33 §13, II, pp. 324-5); Dennis, *The reign,* pp. 57-9.

7. Cydones, Letter 241, *42-45,* p. 145; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire» p. 231.

8. Bon, *La Morée franque,* p. 220-21.

reconquered lands and establishing friendly relations with his neighbours[9]. A few years before his death however the arrival of the mercenary Navarrese Company in Greece disturbed the *status quo*. About 1379/80 they established themselves in Achaia as the permanent centre of authority[10], giving the principality stability and a new scope for expansion. When Cantacuzenus's revolt broke out they were quick to lend him and his rebel archons their support against the central authority of the Palaeologi.

The Navarrese move inevitably determined Theodore's internal and external policy, for he was forced to direct all his energies to crushing the rebels and putting an end to the Navarrese incursions. With this aim in mind, he soon entered into an alliance with Neri Acciaiuoli, the lord of Corinth, and this was further strengthened by his marriage to Neri's eldest daughter Bartolomea, sometime in the spring of 1384. Thus began a close relationship which was to last almost a decade and whose moving force was undoubtedly Neri. Guided by an ambition to unify parts of the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Attica and extend further Florentine suzerainty over an enlarged territory, this newly formed alliance with the imperial house of the Palaeologi appeared to Neri to bring his plans nearer to fruition[11]. Theodore certainly shared Neri's ambitions. Resourceful and determined, he energetically pursued his own policies in conjunction with those of his father-in-law, though somewhat overshadowed by him until Neri's death when he came into his own and emerged as a force to be reckoned with in the Peloponnese.

The first signs of a concerted policy are seen in the attempts both made between 1383 and 1384 to draw Venice into an alliance[12], since in this area of conflicting interests and ambitions the Republic held the balance of power. Her domains in the Peloponnese were limited to Coron and Modon, but as her influence was felt in the entire peninsula it was imperative to secure Venice's goodwill, in any impending struggle with the Navarrese. Both attempts however failed. The Venetians were not prepared to run the risk of alienating the Navarrese from whom they were anxious to secure the strategically important port and fortress of Zonclon by involving themselves in the affairs of Theodore and Neri. In the ensuing war Theodore's position

---

9. Cantacuzenus III, pp. 85-6, 88-9; Loenertz, Chron. Mor §§ 6, 8, pp. 404, 414-15; cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat* I, p. 106ff.

10. Loenertz, «Hospitaliers», no. 14, p. 342ff.

11. J. Chrysostomides, «An unpublished letter of Nerio Acciaiuoli (30 October 1384)», *Byzantina*, 7 (1975), 120-3.

12. 1383.II.20, Misti 38, f. 10; 1384.III.29, Misti 38, f. 107^{v} (= *Régestes* I, 639, 668, pp. 156, 162).

vis à vis the Navarrese remained precarious until 1387, when he recognized Murad I's suzerainty and received help from the Ottomans, enabling him to break the opposition of the rebel archons and consolidate his rule, by recovering towns and fortresses from the Navarrese[13].

These successes however had a detrimental effect on his relations with the Venetians who were now driven into closer alignment with Achaia in the hope of strengthening their own position vis à vis Theodore and Neri and securing the much coveted port of Zonclon for themselves. Venice became more deeply committed to Achaia when in 1398 Theodore with Neri's connivance, snatched from her the cities of Argos and Nauplion which the Republic had shortly before secured from Marie d'Enghien. The conflict which broke out over this affair not only weakened the warring factions but at the same time destroyed any hope for a concerted defensive action against the Turks, whose armies by 1389 had swept into Serbia, forced Bulgaria into submission and threatened to engulf major cities on the Dalmatian coast. Theodore's policy however did not alter until after Murad's death in 1389 and more specifically during the meeting with the Sultan Bayezid at Serres in the winter of 1393. Detained by Bayezid Theodore was compelled to accompany him in his march into Thessaly and Phocis sometime in January/February 1394[14]; while at the same time he was forced to surrender part of his territories, including Argos and Monemvasia, to the Turks. With enormous courage and dexterity Theodore managed to extricate himself from this difficult situation and escaping from the Sultan's camp reached his territories. There in co-operation with Neri mounted the defence of the Peloponnese and succeeded in barring the Isthmus to the Turks[15].

The sudden change of Ottoman policy brought home to Theodore the urgent need to free himself from the precarious status of a vassal to the Turks and to combine with other rulers, particularly Venice, to present a united front against them. In this he had Neri's full support. Indeed it was the Florentine who finally persuaded him to return Argos to the Republic and conclude peace[16]. In exchange, the Venetians extended military support to Neri and at Theodore's request sent a galley to patrol the coast of

---

13. Letter of Jacopo, bp. of Argos, ed. Gregorovius, «Briefe», p. 299 (also in Gregorovius-Lampros, II, p. 642; DOC 574, p. 612); Loenertz, «Res Gestae», p. 209, *54-56;* Ibid. Chron. Mor. § 14 pp. 405, 420-21, (= CBB I, 33 § 14, II, p. 335); Ibid., «Pour l'histoire», pp. 236-7.

14. Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 245-6.

15. Funeral Oration, pp. 137-53.

16. 1394.V.27, Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα,* pp. 374-85, 114, 388.

Monemvasia, thus cutting off all lines of communication and starving the Turkish garrison into surrender. The Turkish counter offensive which aimed at breaking Theodore's siege of Monemvasia did not succeed in its mission and had to beat a retreat[17].

The Ottoman campaigns in Greece however failed to unite all the Christian rulers in the area. In the face of Venetian change of policy and the impending Ottoman attack on Athens and the Despotate, the Navarrese, who had probably made overtures to the Sultan as early as February/March 1394, sided with the Turks and henceforth were to rely heavily on their help against Theodore.

Co-operation between Venice, Theodore and Neri was of short duration. With the death of Neri in September 1394 hostilities over the bequest of his estates broke out between Theodore and his brother-in-law, Carlo Tocco, duke of Cephalonia. In the ensuing conflict Tocco sided with the Navarrese and called in the Turks. Although a contingent under Evrenos bey crossed into the Peloponnese and routed Theodore's army before Corinth, it failed to neutralise him for Turkish military activities in the area were apparently curtailed by Bayezid's campaign against Mircea of Wallachia[18]. Once the Turkish pressure had been lifted, Theodore redoubled his efforts and was able to consolidate his hold on the lands he had seized in the castellany of Corinth, the city itself eluding him. This still remained in Tocco's hands[19]. His position was further strengthened when on 4 June 1395 he defeated the Navarrese army and captured their Vicar General, Pierre de Saint Supéran, and a great number of his barons. To obtain Saint Supéran's release required Venice's mediation and probably the payment of a large ransom[20]. Thus Theodore emerged as a dominant force in the Peloponnese.

Venice's intervention was entirely due to her fears that the principality, at the time in the throes of a civil war, might fall an easy prey to the Despot or to the Turks. Either alternative had to be avoided at all costs, since Venetian policy sought to keep the *status quo,* namely, a fragmented peninsula where she held the balance of power. Reluctant herself to embark on a territorial expansion which would have strained her resources, already heavily committed to the defence of the Adriatic, Venice was not prepared to

---

17. 24.VII.1394, Misti 43, f. 18 (= *Régestes* I, p. 203, no. 858); Funeral Oration p. 159, *8-18*; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 252 ff.

18. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* tr., by J. M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968), p. 551 n. 1; CBB II, p. 357 and n. 43.

19. Chrysostomides, «Corinth», p. 86ff.

20. Loenertz, Chr. Mor. § 18, pp. 405-6, 423-4 (CBB I, 33, § 18); Funeral Oration pp.

allow any other power to do so, whether Greeks or Turks, since this would have threatened her hold on the coastal towns of Coron, Modon and Nauplion, so essential to her commercial activities. The Venetians failed however to grasp that ultimately, with conflicting interests at play, no concerted effort could ever be made against the Ottomans unless one of the rulers succeeded in imposing his authority over the whole area. That Theodore entertained such a possibility is clearly seen by his attempts to try and extend his suzerainty over the north-eastern section of the Peloponnese. But although he succeeded in occupying lands belonging to the castellany of Corinth and actually buying the city and castle from Carlo Tocco, sometime between September 1395 and January 1396, he failed to muster adequate funds to rebuild the wall of Hexamilion which, in conjunction with Corinth, would have formed a defence system of some importance against Turkish incursions into the Peloponnese. Nor did he succeed in securing Venice's co-operation in his project concerning Hexamilion even though in March 1397 he was prepared to sell her the city of Corinth[21].

These inherent weaknesses in the political structure of the Peloponnese became once more apparent in 1397 when the Turks, after their victory at Nikopolis, invaded the peninsula under Yakub paşa, devastated the city of Argos and took its people into captivity[22]. The Venetian tragedy of Argos brought nearer home to Theodore the realization that in future he might not be able to defend his domains, although he had put up a valiant resistance at Leontarion on 21 June, forcing Yakub to beat a retreat[23]. Soon afterwards the Turks besieged Corinth, leaving Theodore with no other alternative but to offer the castellany to the Hospitallers[24].

The move was of momentous importance for the fortunes of the Despotate, for the presence of the Knights in the area had an immediate

---

123-5. We do not know the exact sum Saint Supéran paid for his ransom. Venice offered to loan him for this purpose 50,000 hyperpera against Vostitsa and Zonclon as security (Misti 43, ff. 74-74ᵛ). It is unlikely that he ever accepted the offer since there is no indication in the existing documents that these two cities came into the Republic's possession at this stage. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat* I, p. 156 basing his narrative on C. Hopf (*Geschichte Griechenlands* II, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 57-8) wrongly assumed that Venice's proposal was automatically put into effect.

21. Chrysostomides, «Corinth», pp. 95-7 with references to App. I and II; Lettere di Rettori, no. 65, ed. Ch. Maltezou, «Οἱ
ΙΔ´ αἰῶνα», *Σύμμεικτα*, 3 (1973), 17-23; 29.IV.1397, Misti 43, f. 183ᵛ.

22. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 19, pp. 406, 424, (= CBB I, 33 § 19); Senato Mar 4, f. 76ᵛ; Misti 44, f. 10-10ᵛ; Chalcocandyles (B) 97-8 = (D) 91-92.

23. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 19, pp. 406, 424 (= CBB I, 33 § 20, II, p. 361).

24. Funeral Oration pp. 167-73; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 254-7.

effect: Corinth was spared from destruction and Navarrese incursions into Byzantine territory came to an abrupt halt[25]. However, the renewed Turkish attack in 1399 and early 1400 and the intransigent attitude of Bayezid towards Theodore compelled him sometime early in 1400 to accept the new offer made by the Hospitallers to buy up the whole of the Despotate. There is no doubt that with the resumption of Tu
anxious to strengthen their position on two sectors. The first centred on Megara and controlled the route to the Isthmus and the Peloponnese and therefore could be used as a first line of defence against the Turkish invaders. Megara had a further advantage in that its harbour would have given them an additional point of access into the Saronic Gulf to combat the Turkish pirates festering the coast. The second sector concerned Hexamilion which had to be strengthened as a second line of defence, and in this case the co-operation of the neighbouring powers was essential.

Undoubtedly with these considerations in mind the Grand-master Philibert de Naillac in July 1399 instructed his representatives to enter into negotiations for the purchase of Megara, still held by Francesca Acciaiuoli-Tocco, and to confer with Theodore and Saint Supéran over problems of defence of the Hexamilion[26]. It is possible that the cession of the Despotate was mooted then, though Manuel II gives the impression that the Hospitallers' approach came after he had left for the West on 10 December 1399. At the time Theodore was going through perhaps the most crucial phase of his life, so much so that he had asked the Republic to grant him safe conduct to her territories. The Hospitaller offer came at the right moment and in fact, Manuel II claims, fitted with Theodore's plans of using the Order as a lever to dislodge the Turks from the Morea, but always with the intention of reclaiming his cities from the Knights once the Turkish danger had been removed[27]. Negotiations seem to have been well advanced by February 1400 and soon afterwards agreement was reached. The Order, having paid the necessary sums in money securities, occupied a number of strongholds[28]. Unfortunately we do not know the precise number or the exact date in which they were handed over to the Hospitallers. The castellany of Kalavryta, Mistra and Vatika were certainly among them[29]. The transaction

25. Funeral Oration p. 169,*5-16*.
26. AOM MS 330, ff. 118v-119, 120v.
27. Funeral Oration pp. 161,*30*-167,*12*; 185,*16*-187,*9*. Cf. Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 259.
28. Funeral Oration pp. 183,*15*-185,*3*.
29. See below pp. 183-185 nn. 110,111.

did not proceed as anticipated however, for the inhabitants of Mistra rebelled and openly declared war against the Order. Theodore had to return from Monemvasia, where he had moved his administration, to persuade both sides to put an end to the hostilities and begin negotiations for the return of these areas to him[30].

These events, it is assumed, occurred before 7 November 1400, for on that date Philibert de Naillac empowered Raymond de Lescure and Elie de Fossat to enter into negotiations for the retrocession of the Despotate to Theodore[31]. The Order however did not cede all territory but remained in charge of strategically important areas, including Corinth and Kalavryta[32] and possibly the citadel of Mistra[33]. Such a solution was essential since Theodore most certainly could not afford to pay the money back, and besides, co-operation with the Order against the Ottomans was the only sensible thing. The truce left him free to get on with 'his preparations for the war against the Turks'[34] and may have been well prepared when a Turkish contingent invaded the Peloponnese at Saint Supéran's instigation[35]. On this occasion however the Despotate seems to have escaped attack, most probably because of the Order, which was undoubtedly a powerful deterrent. In the summer of 1401 the Despot, now allied with the sons of Asen Zaccaria the late grand constable of Achaia, was to carry the war into Saint Supéran's territories around Patras, placing in jeopardy Venetian trading and shipping interests[36]. At this stage Theodore commanded authority among his allies and this is reflected in his dealings with Venice[37]. His position seems to have been further strengthened with Bayezid's overtures for a truce. It was probably towards the end of that year or beginning of 1402, when the impending clash with Timur became imminent, that the Sultan made the first positive offer of peace. A Turkish emissary travelled from Asia Minor to Sparta to offer peace to the Despot on condition that the Hospitallers withdrew from the Peloponnese[38]. Though perhaps Manuel II exaggerates

30. Funeral Oration pp. 205-07; Chalcocandyles (B) 97-8 = (D) 91-2.

31. AOM MS 330, ff. 125^{v}-6.

32. Funeral Oration p. 209, *11-12*; AOM MS 332, ff. 160^{v}-161, 163-163^{v}.

33. Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 262.

34. Funeral Oration p. 205, *15-16*.

35. 1401.III.18, Misti 45, f. 64; 1401.IV.22, Misti 45, ff. 72^{v}-75; 1401.V.6 Misti 45, f. 78^{v} (= Sathas II, pp. 17-18; 21-29, nos. 235, 239).

36. 1401.IX.22, Misti 45, f. 110^{v} (= *Régestes* II, p. 21, no. 1030 -inaccurately summarized).

37. 1401.IX.16, Misti 45, f. 107^{v} (= Sathas II, p. 43-44, no. 254); Commemoriali IX, f. 128^{v} (= Predelli III, p. 284, no. 223).

38. Funeral Oration p. 207, *1-4*.

when he attributes the Sultan's sudden change of policy solely to the establishment of the Order in the Despotate, there is no doubt that Bayezid regarded the Hospitallers as a potential threat and was anxious to remove them from the area. Once peace with the Ottomans was concluded, Theodore approached the Order for the recovery of his lands. On 26 and 31 May 1402 Philibert de Naillac authorized his representatives to enter into negotiations with Theodore for the retrocession of the Despotate and the castellany of Corinth[39]. These negotiations were probably interrupted for two reasons: the Turkish defeat at Ankara on 28 July 1402 and Theodore's inability to muster the necessary funds for the repurchase.

In the ensuing fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire by the sons of Bayezid a number of rulers in Greece tried to recover or extend their territories. It was probably at this stage that Theodore captured Amphissa (Salona) together with Galaxidi, Loidoriki and Vitrinitsa, but he was unable to hold on to them and was forced to hand them over to the Order[40]. The county of Salona was later granted to the Knights by Süleyman I in the treaty of 1403[41]. This grant may have strained relations between the Hospitallers and Theodore, and led to the Byzantines occupying some of these territories by forestalling the Order[42]. But if there had been any disagreement, certainly relations had improved by late 1403 or early 1404 when they came to a mutual understanding for the retrocession of the Despotate and the castellany of Corinth to take place sometime in April 1404[43]. The treaty was finally signed in Constantinople by Manuel II on May 5 and the sum stipulated amounted to 43,000 ducats plus 3,500 ducats for expenses incurred by the Order for the upkeep of fortresses, castles etc. It was to be paid over a period less than two years in three instalments[44]. The first payment was made at Vasilopotamo on board of Fr. Dominic de Alamania's galley on 14 June[45] and that same day the castellany of Corinth

39. AOM MS 332, ff. 162^{v}-163.

40. Chronicon Galaxidiou, ed. C. N. Sathas, (Athens 1865), pp. 207-8.

41. Treaty of 1403, ed. G. T. Dennis, *OCP*, 33 (1967), 80 § 29.

42. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. X, 299 (= 3512) ff. 66^{v}-67, cited (with wrong reference) by N. Jorga, *ROL*, 4 (1896), 240 where there are rumours, most probably exaggerated, that the Hospitallers intended making war against the Despot for having broken the treaty. A. T. Luttrell is preparing a new edition of this document and I would like to thank him for providing me with details on this. See also below p. 208 n. 130.

43. AOM MS 333, ff. 115-115^{v}.

44. AOM MS 333, ff. 117^{v}-118; 334, ff. 147-147^{v}-148.

45. AOM MS 334, f. 148.

was returned to the Despot[46] and most probably also Kalavryta.

The way now lay open for Theodore to participate in a military project with the Order against growing Turkish activity. This alliance envisaged to last for thirty years was to include, besides Theodore, the Emperors Manuel and John, and the duke of Cephalonia, Carlo Tocco. Its object was to safeguard the Epirotic coast, the Peloponnese, the remaining lands of the empire and to strengthen the defences of the Aegean[47]. As a first step, the Order approached Venice seeking permission to rebuild the fortress of Tenedos, but the Republic turned the proposal down on the pretext that such a move would have been contrary to the treaty of Turin which had demilitarized the island[48].

To what extent military co-operation was achieved among the rest of the allies is difficult to tell. One striking omission from the list is the Despot's former ally Centurione II Zaccaria the new vicar general of Achaia. Though both Theodore[49] and the Order[50] had entertained hopes of annexing the principality immediately after Saint Supéran's death, Theodore, for his part, seems to have established a *modus vivendi* with Centurione after the latter was made regent by his aunt Maria Zaccaria, Saint Supéran's widow. This situation remained unchanged when Centurione ousted Saint Supéran's heirs and assumed power as prince of Achaia in 1404[51]. Certainly between February 1403 and August 1406 there is no mention of hostilities between the two. On the contrary, apart from Turkish piratical attacks, the Peloponnese during this period seems to have enjoyed a degree of stability. This however did not last long and the old conflicts re-emerged by the autumn of 1406. In the course of the next six months the Despot's armies overran Achaia and — probably inadvertently, since the boundaries in that area of Messenia were not distinctly defined — twice pillaged Venetian territories. According to the estimate of the castellans of Modon and Coron the damage amounted to 100,000 hyperpera. Villages of Modon, Avrami and Spanochori were devastated, while the castle of Nicline, belonging to the bishopric of Modon,

46. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 22, pp. 406, 426-7. Date of 15 May on p. 427 should read 5 May (= CBB I, 33 § 23, pp. 246, II, pp. 384-5 — repeat correction). See also Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 263-4 (4 June should read 14 June).

47. 1405.XI.28, AOM MS 333, ff. 125-125^{v}-126. The emperor John mentioned in the document must refer to John VII who was ruling in Thessalonica at the time.

48. 1405.IX.21, Secreti II, f. 151^{v} (= Sathas I, pp. 11-12, no. 11).

49. 1403.I.30, Misti 46, f. 63^{v} (= Sathas II, p. 106, no. 318).

50. As above n. 42.

51. Naples, Reg. Angioni 367, ff. 134-136^{v} summarized by N. Iorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1899), II, p. 101.

was burnt down[52]. There is however no evidence that Theodore's activities were part of a concerted plan with Centurione's brothers and Carlo Tocco against the prince. It is true that relations between Centurione and the Tocco brothers had been strained in 1403/4 and were to be so again later in 1407[53] but, like the dispute which erupted in the summer of 1407 between Centurione and his brother Stefano, the archbishop of Patras, it does not seem to have had any direct links with the Despot. Had there been any, there would have been undoubtedly some indication of this in the existing deliberations of the Senate. If the Venetian government contemplated including the Despotate in the peace treaty they strove to bring about between the Zaccaria brothers in August 1407[54] it was not because Theodore had been an ally of the archbishop of Patras. It was rather that the Senate were fearful of the repercussions incessant conflict among the rulers might have on the Peloponnese in general and on the Venetian possessions and trade in particular.

The outcome of this last war with Achaia Theodore did not live to see. He died at Mistra on 24 June[55]. Since he had no legitimate sons from his marriage to Bartolomea Acciaiuoli, he was succeeded by Theodore, the second son of Manuel II, then a minor. During the early years of his son's reign it was Manuel who laid down the policies to be followed and these were continued later by Theodore II and his brothers John VIII and Constantine XI. These policies reflect the same energy and purpose as their predecessor's, and they aimed at the expansion of the frontiers of the Despotate to include the principality of Achaia and the ultimate unification of the Peloponnese that undoubtedly had been Theodore I's vision.

---

52. 1406.X.14, Secreti III, f. 43; 1406.X.16, Misti 47, f. 144; 1407.II.21, Misti 47, f. 92; 1407.IX.4, Misti 47, f. 144 (= Sathas I, p. 15, no. 15; II, pp. 155-6, no. 387; p. 165, no. 400; p. 185, no. 422). Hopf *G-G.* II, p. 69 says damages incurred amounted to 300,000 hyperpera (text gives 100,000 hyperpera). Zakythinos, *Le Despotat I,* p. 163 misquoting Hopf reduces it to 30,000 hyperpera. In addition using Sathas II, p. 155 he gives the correct amount, without realizing that this is the same deliberation which Hopf had misquoted.

53. Naples, Reg. Angioini 367, f. 4^{v}, cited by Iorga, *Notes et Extraits,* II, p. 98; 1407.VII.25, Misti 47, f. 127 (= Sathas II, pp. 180-1, no. 416).

54. 1407.VIII.27, Secreti III, f. 73^{v}-74 (= Sathas I, pp. 19-20, no. 18).

55. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 21, pp. 425-6 (= CBB I, 33 § 22; II, p. 387). Before his death he took the habit under the name of Θεοδώρητος: G. Millet, «Portraits byzantins», *Revue de l'art chrétien,* 61 (1911), 447-49 correctly revising his earlier attribution to Theodore II. Cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat,* p. 165, n. 1.

III. TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS

A. TEXT

The Funeral Oration of the Emperor Manuel II on his brother Theodore is one of the most significant documents in a period of Byzantine history which is scantily documented. Its structure on the whole follows the traditional pattern of a βασιλικὸς λόγος and an ἐπιτάφιος established in antiquity[1]. The προοίμιον sets the difficulty of the task; it is followed by the description of πατρίς, γένος, ἀνατροφή, παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις, σύγκρισις with ancient heroes, θρῆνος, παραμυθία and closes with the ἐπίλογος.

Though the Oration is excessively long[2], it does not lack vigour, elegance of expression, vividness or depth of feeling. Essentially conceived in humanist terms the arguments are advanced with clarity, perception and certain originality of expression; so that despite the archaic language and the conventional rhetorical style the author succeeds in communicating to the reader his first hand experience and his profound sorrow.

In so far as the evidence contained in the Funeral Oration comes from one who was intimately acquainted with all aspects of Theodore's policies, it

1. Cf. Menander, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, ed. L. Spengel, *Rhaetores Graeci* III (Teubner, 1856), pp. 368-77, 418-422. For this conventional pattern see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (München, 1978), I, p. 75ff. p. 132ff; R. Browning, «An unpublished funeral oration on Anna Comnena», *Cambridge Philological Society, Proceedings,* 188 (1962) 3; J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), p. 22ff; T. C. Burgess, «Epideictic literature», *University of Chicago, Studies in Classical Philology,* 3 (1902), 113-57.

2. Since the time of Berger de Xivrey scholars have been critical of its length and rhetorical exaggerations (J. Berger de Xivrey, *Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue,* Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie d
et Belles-Lettres, XIX, 2 (Paris, 1853), p. 147; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 260 n. 1; and others. But both Guarino of Verona and Ambrosio Traversari praised it highly (*Epistolario di Guarino Veronese,* ed. R. Sabbadini (Venice, 1915), I, pp. 172-3, no. 94; *Ambrosii Traversarii generalis Camaldulensium aliorumque ad ipsum et ad alios de eodem Ambrosio latinae epistolae* (Florence, 1759), II p. 292.

must be regarded as of primary importance, though it suffers from a number of drawbacks. First, the writer was addressing himself to an audience which was familiar with many of the events referred to in the oration and therefore he thought it unnecessary either to mention them or go into detail. Simply hinting at incidents appeared to him sufficient. As a result of this we have a number of obscurities and gaps which have to be interpreted and filled in with the help of information contained in other sources, primarily Venetian. Secondly, by its very nature an epitaph concentrates on the commendable characteristics of the deceased and this is bound to be accentuated when the writer happens to be brother of the person commemorated, for whom he felt a profound affection and about whose achievements he was anxious to inform posterity. We are thus given a one sided view of his character and a partial interpretation of the events. Thirdly, the Funeral Oration on Theodore was not simply a eulogy. It was also an apology and a vindication of the more controversial aspects of the policy which Theodore pursued in the Morea, such as the sale of Corinth and the Despotate to the Hospitallers. Such a policy was certainly resented by a large section of the people who, at least in the case of Mistra, rose in open rebellion against the Hospitallers. This seems also to have stigmatised Theodore as a ruler who perhaps too light-heartedly sold cities and subjects to foreigners. It is from such an imputation that Manuel tries to exonerate him and in the process perhaps insists too much on the fact that Theodore used the Order as a lever to dislodge the Turks from the Morea. Fourthly, there are aspects of Theodore's policy which may have been too melancholy for the Emperor to recall. Theodore's alliance with the Ottomans, for example, from 1387 to 1393/4 which followed Manuel's own capitulation to the Turks, though justifiable on grounds of political expediency, could not have been considered an appropriate theme for a eulogy. And Manuel chose to pass over it in silence.

This insistence on mentioning only events which enhance the heroic characteristics of Theodore while omitting his defects cannot but detract from the historical value of this document. On the other hand in a curious way these omissions are in themselves an indication of his reliability, for instead of distorting facts to suit his version, he merely refuses to mention them at all. Similarly his treatment of the cession of the Despotate to the Hospitallers further confirms our trust in him as a historical source. For in dealing with this event it is possible that Manuel laid too much stress on his brother's manipulation of the Order against the Turks and his reluctance to allienate his lands and subjects to foreigners. But there is no doubt that the agreement Theodore entered into with the Hospitallers provided for the

repurchase of the Despotate. Therefore though the Emperor may be said to have exaggerated his brother's adroitness and sense of duty to his people, he seems to have closely followed the facts whenever he made use of them. And it is precisely this quality that gives the Funeral Oration its place as one of the primary sources of the period.

The Funeral Oration was most probably finished in the spring of 1409, for the Emperor's letter accompanying a copy he sent Manuel Chrysoloras in Italy, sometime between December 1409 and January 1410, suggests that the work was recently finished[3]. It appears then that the Emperor intended to deliver the Funeral Oration himself on the second anniversary of his brother's death which had occurred at Mistra in June 1407[4]. That it was his intention to pronounce it himself is confirmed by the insertion of the sentence «ῥηθεὶς ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοῦ βασιλέως» as an afterthought in the title of our principal manuscript *Paris. suppl. gr. 309*[5], and most certainly in anticipation of the event. This however he never did. In fact the Emperor was prevented from leaving Constantinople most probably by the political situation brought about by the civil conflict among the sons of Bayezid. Instead he despatched the oration to Mistra with the monk Isidore, future metropolitan of Kiev and cardinal. This was a natural choice since Isidore had closely co-operated with the Emperor over the Funeral Oration, being responsible for copying both the incomplete first draft (Ea) and the final version (P). He had undoubtedly witnessed the Emperor's grief throughout the writing of the oration
weeping than by writing'. And it was Isidore, who, as he wrote in his letter to the Emperor, delivered half of the oration, while the other half was pronounced by Gazes, before a distinguished audience which included the young Despot Theodore II, the metropolitan of Monemvasia and the civil authorities[6].

3. *Letters* 56, p. 159 and n. 1.

4. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 21, pp. 425-6.

5. The sentence has been squeezed in in *Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 309,* f. 1 and all the mss. deriving directly or indirectly from it repeat the statement. It is not found in *Cod. Scorialensis gr. 14 (olim R-I-14)* a first draft of the Funeral Oration or in the *Cod. Vat. gr. 16 (olim 18)* which is an ealier version of the revised edition. For details see below pp. 33-35.

6. Manuel Palaeologus, *Letters* 56, p. 159, *2-3;* Isidore, Letter 5, ed. W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (Petrograd, 1891), pp. 65-9; G. Mercati, «Lettere di un Isidoro metropolita di Monembasia e non di Kiew», *Bessarione,* 30 (1916), 205-7 (= ST, 78 (1937), 517-9); *Idem, Scritti d'Isidoro,* p. 102; Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 23, p. 428; D. A. Zakythinos («Μανουὴλ Β´ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννή-

There still remains a difficulty however. The assumption that Manuel delivered the Funeral Oration himself, has persisted for a long time. For apart from the actual sentence in the rubric which states so, it is confirmed by the panegyric in honour of John VIII attributed to Isidore in which he categorically states that the Emperor did deliver a funeral oration at Mistra soon after his brother's death[7]. If we accept, as we must, that the monk Isidore who wrote the letter to the Emperor is also the author of the panegyric[8] we are faced with a contradiction which might lead one to assume that Isidore, when he was writing his oration in 1428/9, for some unknown reason had forgotten that about twenty years before he had himself read out in public part of the emperor's Funeral Oration. Such an assumption is neither tenable, since Isidore was still active in 1460[9], nor indeed necessary. It is very possible that when the Emperor, soon after Theodore's death, visited Mistra in the winter of 1407 to September 1408[10] he did pronounce a short oration (perhaps much shorter than the *Scorialensis gr. 14*) which later formed the basis of the Funeral Oration as we have it today. We must therefore assume that Isidore refers to such a version when he writes that after Theodore's death the Emperor visited the Peloponnese and delivered a eulogy on his brother's tomb. How near that 1407/8 version was to the *Scorialensis gr. 14* is impossible to say but we may hazard the supposition that the proem and the poignant passages which describe Manuel's despair at his brother's death may well derive from that version. A great many of the rhetorical passages were additions introduced during the subsequent revision of the Funeral Oration as our detailed examination of the early draft *(Scorialensis gr. 14)* and the revised version *(Paris suppl. gr. 309)* has shown[11].

σῳ», *Mélanges offerts à O. et M. Merlier (Athens,* 1955), p. 48) identified Gazes with Demetrios Gazes, Theodore's ambassador to Venice in 1394. For Isidore's activities as a copyist see below pp. 33-4,37.

7. *PP* III, p. 164, *23-33.*

8. G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro,* pp. 6-7.

9. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi,* v. II (Monasterii, 1901), p. 35, no. 174; Mercatti, *Scritti d'Isidoro,* pp. 130-31.

10. Loenertz, Chron. Mor. § 23, p. 428; 1407.XII.8, Misti 47, f. 155^v (= *Régestes* II, no. 1290, p. 75); *PP* III, p. 164, *23-26.* There is also a reference of the Emperor's journey to the Peloponnese in Isidore's Letter 5 (ed. Regel, *op. cit.,* p. 66,*8-9*) pointed out by Zakythinos, «Μανουὴλ Β'», pp. 49-50. Dennis (*Manuel Palaelogus, Letters* 51, p. 146 n. 1) following Barker (*Manuel II,* p. 275 n. 132) assumes that this visit took place in the late summer of 1408. The existing evidence however indicates beyond dispute that it took place soon after Theodore's death which had occurred in the summer of 1407. See also CBB II, pp. 387-88.

11. See below pp. 43-4.

In other words what began as a spontaneous expression of grief was later developed into a rhetorical piece of writing so as not to 'allow time to consign his [Theodore's] noble deeds to oblivion'[12].

The assumption then that Manuel II delivered *a* funeral oration, albeit not the one we possess today, would solve the problem posed by the seemingly contradictory statements in Isidore of Kiev. Moreover it would explain Chalcocandyles's statement, which probably derived either from a written source or an oral local tradition of Mistra, and which claimed that the Emperor delivered a funeral oration on his brother's tomb[13].

There remains a further problem. If the Emperor was unable to pronounce himself the present Funeral Oration as he had anticipated, why did he not alter the title subsequently, thus preventing it from being repeated, if not in the *Vat. gr. 632* and *Vat. gr. 1450* at least in the *Vindob. phil. gr. 98* which was the last to be copied[14]? The answer to this question would depend entirely on the date of the completion of these manuscripts. If all of them, including the Vienna, were copied by the spring of 1409 then it is understandable that no attempt was ever made to correct the title. But we cannot possibly know if all the mss. which bear this sentence in the title were actually copied by the spring of 1409 or later until we have traced the copy the Emperor sent to Guarino of Verona in 1417[15] and have found out whether or not it too contained that sentence. On the other hand if the revision of the *Paris. suppl. gr. 309* and the copying of the Funeral Oration continued well after the spring of 1409, why did Manuel leave that sentence in? Did the Emperor after all think it legitimate to retain the wording, since he himself had pronounced an oration in 1407/8 which, if not identical with it, nonetheless had the essential elements of the new version of his Funeral Oration? The answer to these questions must await further evidence.

12. Manuel Palaeologus, *Letters* 56, p. 159,*14-15*.

13. Chalcocandyles (B) 216 = (D) 202-3.

14. See below p. 47 ff.

15. *Letters* 60, pp. 167-9. The Emperor asked him to translate the Funeral Oration into Latin or Italian. Guarino sent it to Ambrosio Traversari, see above note 2, p. 27.

B. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Funeral Oration* (F.Or.) of the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus on his brother Theodore is preserved in seven mss. These are:

1. Ea = *Cod. Scorialensis gr. 14 (olim R-I-14),* Biblioteca Escorial, 15th century.
2. P = *Cod. Parisinus Suppl. gr. 309,* Bibliothèque Nationale, 15th century.
3. V = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1450,* Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th century.
4. W = *Cod. Vindobonensis phil. gr. 98,* Oesterreichische National-bibliothek, 15th century.
5. Ve = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 16 (olim 18),* Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th century.
6. Va = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 632 (olim 428),* Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th century.
7. E = *Cod. Scorialensis gr. 243 (olim Y-I-4),* Biblioteca Escorial, 16th century.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 contain the full text, nos. 1 and 5 are incomplete.

There are also two modern copies of the F. Or. which are not discussed here:

1. *Cod. Ottobonianus gr. 139* copied from *Cod. Vat. gr. 1450* in 1620.
2. *Cod. Coislinianus gr. 343* copied from *Cod. Paris. Suppl.* gr. 309 by F. Combéfis for his edition of the F. Or.

Ea = *Cod. Scorialensis gr. 14 (olim R-I-14):* 15th century, paper, of 276 numbered leaves, 265 × 195 mm., containing various items[1]. Ff. 257-270 give an incomplete and shorter version of the F.Or. The text is written in single columns of 29 lines except for f. 257 which has 26 lines and f. 270 which has 21 and where the text breaks off abruptly after a comma. Its length corresponds to P ff. 1-20^{v}.

The codex belonged to Matteo Dandolo, a descendant of that old and illustrious Venetian family which during the Renaissance had built up a collection of mss. of classical authors[2]. Matteo had a varied career and

1. P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1936), I, pp. 22, 49.
2. M. Foscarini, *Della letteratura Veneziana,* (Padua, 1752), p. 69, no. 192.

among the offices he held was that of ambassador to France at the court of François I, himself another avid collector of ancient mss. Before Matteo set out for France in 1540 to assume his duties, he was asked by the French ambassador to the Republic, G. Pelicier, to convey to the king the latest purchase made on his behalf in Venice, then the main market for Greek mss[3]. After Matteo's death in Venice in 1570 part of his collection was purchased by the Library of the Escorial sometime in 1571[4].

The ms. was first noted and used by S. Lampros in his edition of the F.Or. which appeared posthumously. Lampros described the text as being extensively revised and abridged, thus giving the impression that Ea represented a later version of the text contained in the other mss[5]. Such a supposition might at first seem plausible. The F. Or. in its complete form is far too long a piece of rhetoric for actual delivery as a funeral tribute. It was therefore possible that Manuel either on his own initiative or on the advice of friends whom he consulted on the general form of the F.Or. decided to abridge it. This suggestion might be supported by the title of Ea which omits the sentence «ῥηθεὶς ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοῦ βασιλέως» which is found in the complete version (P V Va W E). For the Emperor contrary to this statement as we have seen was unable to deliver the oration himself in Mistra. Therefore the omission in the title of Ea might suggest that the Emperor made the necessary alteration when he revised the text. However, a detailed and comparative study of the two versions (the incomplete and the complete) has revealed beyond any doubt that Ea is the first version of the F.Or. and that the author, dissatisfied with his first draft rewrote it, concentrating mainly on stylistic alterations, although he made two additions which are of historical importance. Moreover the omission in the title of Ea far from weakening this interpretation, confirms it, since this sentence is also omitted in Ve which is the earliest text of the revised edition. This undoubtedly indicates that this sentence, far from being removed from Ea, was in fact added at a later stage.

This first draft is written by the same hand as that of P and it is none other than that of the monk Isidore, future metropolitan of Kiev and

---

3. Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1880), p. 105 quoting Pelicier's letter to François I dated 29 August 1540 «Avons advisé vous les envoyer, s'il vous plaist, avec le train de magnifique messire Mattheo Dandolo ... qu'il les fera conduire seurement ...»; L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1868), I, p. 155.

4. Ch. Graux, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 106-7.

5. *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακὰ* III (Athens, 1926), p. 11 n.

cardinal. A comparison with *Cod. Vatic. gr. 914,* asserted by G. Mercati to be in the calligraphic handwriting of Isidore as a copyist in the first third of the fifteenth century[6], leaves no doubt that it was copied by him. It was certainly intended as a fair copy, for Isidore left out the initial letter alpha of the first line, intending no doubt to add it in different ink, and, like P in its early stage, no attempt was made to divide the text into paragraphs. It is difficult to tell whether this first version was ever completed. It is possible that it may have been abandoned half-way through, although a fair copy was made of the sections which the author had completed.

P = *Cod. Parisinus Suppl. gr. 309:* 15th century on vellum of 53 leaves, 165 × 240 mm[7]. The text of the F.Or. is preceded by four additional leaves, three of which have been numbered in Latin numerals ff. I-VI. On the verso of the first unnumbered leaf we read 'Manuelis Augusti Paleologi Oratio in Theodorum Fratrem Despotam Peloponnesi edita a Combefisio. Vide Auctarium Biblioth. Grec. Patrum Tom. II col. 1043'. Folios I-VI contain five items: f. I-III ‹Προθεωρία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου; f. IV Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου; f. V ["Η]λυθον ἀνδρῶν φέρτατε πενθήσων / καὶ σὲ μὲν which is the first and the beginning of the second line of the complete epigram found on f. VI and attributed to Manuel Palaeologus; f. VI three epigrams in memory of Theodore I. These are written on the top, left-hand and bottom margin of the folio in the centre of which is the fine portrait of the Emperor Manuel depicting him in full regalia[8].

The legend on either side reads:

ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ
ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ

None of these five items bear the name of the author, but according to mss. Va and W they were written respectively by George Gemistos, the monk Joasaph, the Emperor Manuel, Demetrios Magistros and Matthew Chrysocephalos. These five items are by a different hand (except for the unfinished epigram on f. V) which would suggest that originally they were no part of the author's plan, but were added after the completion of his work.

On the top of f. I there is an entry stating «Hic codex ms. olim Bibliothecae fuit Tilletanae seu Tillianae qua dissipata dono D. de la Buissiere transiit in hanc Bibliothecam FF. Praedicat. Conu. Parisiensis SS.

---

6. *Scritti d'Isidoro,* pp. 19, 102, Pl. I, 2; reproduced below Pl. VII.

7. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Supplément grec (1-601)* (Paris, 1888), p. 247.

8. H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornaments contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 281; see frontispiece.

Annunciationis B.M.V. ad S. Honorati 1653». The convent in question was the Dominican monastery of the Annunciation in the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris. The note is in the hand of Jacques Quétif, then librarian of the convent. The posthumous gift in 1653 was made by Jean du Tillet, baron de la Bussière († 1646) who had inherited the famous library of his grand-father and great-uncle, the brothers Jeans du Tillet who both died in 1570. Although there is no evidence so far that this codex belonged to his ancestors, it is most likely that it did so, since his great-uncle Jean du Tillet, bishop of Brieux and of Meux, was a well known scholar and collector. It is also very likely that this codex was acquired in Venice, since, as mentioned above, the Republic was at the time the main European market for Greek mss. The codex remained in the possession of the convent until the French Revolution; subsequently at an unknown date it was transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale[9].

The text of the F.Or, is found on ff. 1-49. On the top of each folio the total number of leaves φύλλα μθ΄ is stated. Each leaf is numbered with a Greek numeral which in most cases had faded and as is the case with the preceding folios a modern hand renumbered the leaves in Arabic numerals, sometimes writing on top of the original number. The text is written in single columns of 25 lines except for ff. 1 and 49 which have 21 and 27 lines respectively. The initial letters of paragraphs, introduced at a later stage and therefore without indentation, were originally written in minuscule and in black ink but later erased and replaced with uncials in gold ink. Similarly, the marginal glosses of Στᾶσις and Γνωμικὸν are written in gold. Ligature or short hand abbreviations or abbreviations by suspension are used sparingly except on the last folios 48^v and 49 where the copyist seems to have been anxious to avoid starting a new leaf for only a few lines. The use of abbreviations in the text is inconsistent.

Spelling errors are very rare. Apart from the omission of the iota

---

9. According to J. A. de Thou, *Histoire universelle* (Paris, 1740), IV, p. 334 «... il joignit à l'étude de notre histoire, que son frère sçavoit parfaitement, la science des langues, et une grande connoissance du droit romain et de toute l'antiquité écclesiastique. Il visita avec la permission de François I les grandes bibliothèques des monastères fameux, et de tous les autres éndroits du Royaume, avant qu'elles eussent été pillées ou dispersées, et il s'en fit un trésor pour son usage particulier, d'où il tira dans la suite ces monumens respectables de l'antiquité sacrée et profane qu'il a donnés au public». See also P. L. Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières* (Paris, 1644), p. 574-5. I would like to thank Mr. Ch. Astruc for information concerning the transfer of the ms. to the Bibliothèque Nationale. He also confirmed that the handwriting of the note of 1653 is that of Père Quétif and that the copyist of the codex is Isidore.

subscript and the rough breathing in αὑτός, which only rarely is differentiated from αὐτός, the occasional use of acute accent instead of the circumflex or vice versa, and the conventional spelling of ἀνδρίαν (instead of ἀνδρείαν) which we have retained, there are only ten spelling mistakes in the whole text: 119,*16* μαγνίτιν for μαγνῆτιν; 123,*20* πρίγγιπος for πρίγκιπος; 143,*11*; 161,*20* ἀναίδην for ἀνέδην; 145,*23* Σκίλλης for Σκύλλης; 193,*7* τηνάλως for τηνάλλως; 193,*33* Τριβαλῶν for Τριβαλλῶν; 197,*1* θρυλλούμενον for θρυλούμενον; 237,*31* γεγαννωμένους for γεγανωμένους; 259,*23-24* ἀρρυσάμενοι for ἀρυσάμενοι; 259,*21* προτιμήσῃς for προτιμήσεις (certainly an inadvertent omission of correction). Of these, one is a mythical name, two are proper names, one is a foreign noun, and two (ἀνέδην and θρυλλούμενον) follow the conventional spelling of the time.

As already pointed out, P represents the second version of the F.Or. the first being Ea. When P was copied the text of Ea had been substantially revised. But it appears that the author was still dissatisfied with his work (P^1) and proceeded to revise it further. Although it is very difficult to tell with certainty how many times the text was revised, a collation of the mss. P, V, Va, Ve and W has revealed that it seems to have been revised seven times. The first six revisions have been distinguished by the letters P^{1-6}, the seventh revision is represented by the letter P.

A comparison of the two texts in Ea and P (corresponding to pp. 75-151 below) shows that 219 words which had been retained in this section from the first draft were altered in subsequent revisions. These revisions, with the exception of one erasure of two and half lines which left a lacuna of 125 words, involve emendations of single words or at most sentences not exceeding two lines. The words are carefully erased and neatly corrected or replaced with new words which do not always fill in exactly the space left by the previous letters or words. In such cases the scribe was compelled to write in larger letters or conversely to use a stricter form of abbreviation or to squeeze in the new words above the line. In the whole text about 496 lines, involving more than a thousand words, have been altered. In a further thirteen cases the original word was left in the text and the new word together with the instruction γράφε was written in the margin, thus indicating that this was the version to be adopted. A great number of the corrected lines have a dot in black ink in the margin, presumably to remind the scribe of the alterations he had to make in the text.

In the process of these revisions four if not five hands were used, although it has been impossible to assign every single correction to a particular hand. The reason for this being that none of the scribes adheres to a strict script but writes a mixture of uncial and minuscule indifferently;

secondly, a correction may involve one or two letters only, and thirdly, the copyist's writing is conditioned by the gap left behind by the erased word so that sometimes he has to spread his writing in order to fill the gap or conversely squeeze in more words, in the process using a thicker or a thinner nib which inevitably distorts the appearance of the writing and makes any classification of hands most difficult.

One of the hands which made some of the emendations and marginal corrections certainly belonged to the original copyist who, as we mentioned above, was the monk Isidore, future metropolitan of Kiev and cardinal, and who also copied Ea. His is a careful, very legible handwriting and aesthetically pleasing. A second hand, heavy and rather unattractive, made further corrections. This hand however may belong to the original scribe whose writing, for reasons given above, is distorted beyond recognition. The third hand can be identified with the scribe who copied the five items on ff. I-IV, VI. This elegant, neat and firm hand is none other that that of ms. V. A fourth hand, perhaps even more elegant, clear and somewhat rectangular made further corrections. And lastly, a fifth hand, less formal than the rest, giving an impression of fluidity, capable of squeezing a number of words into a small space, made further corrections. This too may be that of Isidore, as a quick comparison with the autograph letter *Cod. Vatic. gr. 94,* f. III (the handwriting of an author rather than of a copyist)[10] might suggest. But no conclusions can be drawn until further investigation.

These additions, erasures and emendations most certainly originated from the author himself who continued to revise his work over an extended period of time. Thus codex P in its seventh revision was undoubtedly intended by Manuel II as the definitive version of his work and immense care was taken not to spoil its aesthetic appearance despite the constant alterations in the text.

V = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1450:* 15th century vellum, 42 numbered leaves, 230 × 185 mm. Ff. 1-2 contain the Προθεωρία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, f. 2 Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου and as in the case of P there is no indication of authorship for these two items. The three epigrams together with the portrait of Manuel II found in P are not included. The pagination is in a modern hand. The text is written in single columns of 27 lines save for ff. 3, 41 and 41^v which have 24, 26 and 14 lines respectively. On f. 3 at the top of the page there is a cross in gold filled in with deep blue resting on a floral base of gold and deep blue. The elaborately designed initial letter A is also in gold, deep

10. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro,* p. 19, Pl. I, 1; reproduced below Pl. VIII.

blue and deep red. The title, the initial letters of the paragraphs and the marginal glosses of Στᾶσις and Γνωμικὸν are written in gold. A luxurious and handsome edition most probably from the hand of the copyist who wrote the introductory material in P.

Concerning the history of this ms., it is known that in the second half of the 16th century it belonged to Guglielmo Sirleto, chief librarian of the Vatican. At his death in 1585 an inventory of his mss. was made and this codex appears in it as «theological no. 172» (Vat. Lat. 6163, fol. 96). Sirleto's library was subsequently acquired first by cardinal Ascanio Colonna and then by the duke of Altemps. Sometime in 1612, or soon after, pope Paul V bought from the duke 36 Greek and 48 Latin mss. which had originally belonged to Sirletto. The Vat. gr. 1450 was one of them. Meanwhile the duke replaced this ms. in his collection with a copy made in 1620 and this is now in the Vatican Library under the number *Ottobonianus gr. 139*. Ottobon had himself acquired Altemps' manuscripts and this copy came into the possession of the Vatican with his collection. Nothing is known about the codex before Sirleto acquired it[11].

A detailed examination of the text has revealed that V was copied directly from P^3 but it was further revised twice in conjunction with P^4 and P^5, at times by the same hand which corrected P. We have distinguished these three stages of the text in V with the letters V^1, V^2 and V (V representing the second and final revision). The codex seems to have gone out of the imperial possession before the last two revisions of P (P^{6-7}) took place, for the corrections introduced then are not found in V. Similarly, it is possible that the three missing epigrams were to be added subsequently, unless these were added in P at a much later date when V had already gone out in circulation without these items.

The assumption that V was no longer in the imperial possession for further emendation is reasonable, since it is known that between 1409/10 and 1417 Manuel sent two copies to Italy, one to Manuel Chrysoloras and the other to Guarino of Verona[12]. Although no attempt is made here to suggest that V was one of them, the fact that the Emperor was in the habit of donating his mss. to friends strengthens the argument that V had gone out in circulation and therefore inaccessible to the imperial scribes for further corrections or additions.

---

11. I am most grateful to Monsignor Paul Canart for the detailed information concerning the provenance of this ms.

12. See above p. 31.

W = *Cod. Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 98:* 15th century vellum of 178 leaves of slightly varying size 278/280 × 195/198 mm. It contains several of Manuel's works[13]. The F.Or., the introductory material and the three epigrams are found in ff. 126-175^v: ff. 126-127 Προθεωρία τοῦ λόγου by George Gemistos; f. 127^v Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου by the monk Joasaph and the epigram by Manuel; ff. 128-175^v Ἐπιτάφιος; f. 175^v the epigrams of Matthew Chrysocephalos and Demetrios Magistros. The text of F.Or. is written in single columns of 25 lines except for ff. 128 and 175^v which have 23 and 19 lines respectively.

The codex is said to have belonged to cardinal Bessarion, although the leaf which bore this information has since been lost. It was bought in Venice for the Imperial Library of Vienna for the sum of 180 florins in 1672 as noted on fol. VI^v.[14]

It is possible that the codex was part of a set containing the complete works of Manuel II. It is a most handsome ms., more richly ornamented than P although it does not contain the Emperor's portrait. The floral design of the uncials however are strongly reminiscent of P while the handwriting has marked similarities to V. These common characteristics would suggest that W was also prepared in the imperial milieu.

A detailed examination shows that W was copied directly from P[6].

Ve = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 16 (olim 18):* Codex on paper of V + 404 leaves, 220 × 145 mm. The ms. includes several other works from different hands and codices of 14th and 15th centuries[15]. Most probably the material was assembled by a scholar before the volume was acquired by the Vatican Library in whose catalogue it was recorded in 1475 under the title «Pyndarus et Erothemata. Ex papiro in nigro»[16]. The ms. itself, in a 15th century hand, bears the entry of *Pindarus et herotimata* on f. I.[17]

Ff. 390-397^v contain a fragment of the text of the F.Or. which

---

13. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil I: Codices Historici, Codices Philosophici et Philologici* (Wien, 1961), p. 205-6.

14. Fol. VI^v «Codex hic manuscriptus pro Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi emptus est Venetiis A. 1672 florenis 180».

15. G. Mercati & P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci I: 1-329* (Vatican, 1923), p. 16.

16. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican, 1965), (= *Studi e Testi* 244), p. 47, no. 42. I would like to thank Mgr. P. Canart for this information concerning the history of the codex.

17. Mercati-Cavalieri, *Codices*, p. 16.

corresponds to P's ff. 1-6^{v}. In a handsome, slightly flowery handwriting prone to abbreviations and abbreviations by suspension, it is written in single columns of 24 lines except for f. 390 which has 23.

A detailed examination of Ve has revealed that as far as it goes it contains the earliest version of the revised text. These eight surviving leaves were further corrected in twenty-nine places where words were crossed out and substitutes inserted above the line. All these corrections correspond to those made in P and would indicate that Ve too belonged to the author but for unknown reasons the revision of this ms. was abandoned at an early stage since it does not contain changes subsequently made in P.

Concerning the actual corrections it is difficult to tell whether they all come from the same hand, although most of them certainly belong to the original scribe.

Va = *Cod. Vaticanus gr. 632 (olim 428):* 15th century paper of 430 leaves, 222 × 148 mm., containing works of Cabasilas, Manuel II Palaeologus, Theodore bishop of Andida and others, in different hands[18].

The codex consists of two parts (ff. 1-254 and 255-427; the remaining folios were added at some later stage). The first part belonged to George Scholarios (f. 97^{v} is in his handwriting). The second part contains works by Manuel Palaeologus together with a funeral oration on his death which would seem to indicate that this second part was put together after the emperor's death in 1425, and more precisely after 1433. For Joasaph who wrote the Περὶ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου, is styled here as bishop of Ephesos. If Laurent's arguments are correct, Joasaph seems to have been elevated to the see of Ephesos in the summer of 1433[19].

The codex appears for the first time in the inventory began by Sirleto-Maiorano sometime in November 1548, but the codex (both parts or perhaps only the first) was most probably bought by the Vatican Library sometime in January 1549 from «messer Pietro greco» for the sum of 10 crowns and was entered in the Library catalogue on 10 January[20].

---

18. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci III: 604-866* (Vatican, 1950), pp. 40-3.
19. *Syropoulos*, p. 123 n. 4.
20. Devreesse, *Le fonds*, p. 411, no. 431; p. 418. I would like to thank Mgr. P. Canart for the details concerning the history of this codex. His reasons for believing that the item referred to by Devreesse on p. 411, no. 431 is the same as that appearing on p. 418 were expressed in a letter to me: «Contrairement à l'opinion de Devreesse, j'estime très probable que le volume entier (ou peut-être seulement la première partie?) est celui acheté pour 10 écus à «messer Pietro greco» et enregistré à la Bibliothèque le 10 janvier 1549: «Theodorus

The F.Or., introduction and epigrams cover ff. 352-419^v. Ff. 352-354 Προθεωρία τοῦ λόγου by George Gemistos; f. 354^v Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου by Joasaph of Ephesos[21]; ff. 354^v-355 the three epigrams by the Emperor Manuel, Demetrios Magistros and Matthew Chrysocephalos; ff. 356-419^v 'Επιτάφιος.

The text of the F.Or. is written in single columns of 27 lines except for ff. 356 and 419^v which have 21 and 14 respectively. The ms., modestly ornamented, lacks the handsome appearance of P, V and W. It is written in an elegant and fluid hand which makes use more freely of abbreviations than Ea, P, V, and W but less than Ve.

A detailed examination has revealed that Va derives from P[4].

E = *Cod. Scorialensis gr. 243 (olim Y-I-4):* 16th century paper, xi + 315 numbered leaves, 355 × 248 mm., containing works by various writers[22].

The F.Or. and the introductory material covers ff. 285-315^v: ff. 285-285^v Προθεωρία τοῦ λόγου by George Gemistos; ff. 285^v-286 Περὶ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου by Joasaph of Ephesos[23]; f. 286 the three epigrams of the Emperor Manuel, Demetrios Magistros and Matthew Chrysocephalos; ff. 286^v-315^v 'Επιτάφιος.

The text of the F.Or. in a clear hand and prone to abbreviation is written in single columns of 34 lines except ff. 286^v and 315^v which have 32 and 35 lines respectively.

According to Graux the codex belonged to the cardinal of Burgos, Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1508-66) who was a well known collector of Greek mss. The cardinal twice visited Italy, before 1550 and about 1555, where he seems to have built up his collection either by purchasing or ordering copies of mss. to be made. His intermediary was his librarian Dr.

---

de sacramento missae. Nicolaus Cabasila de sacramentis» (Devreesse, *Le fonds*, p. 418). En effet, 1) le contenu du début coïncide, alors que la succession de ces deux oeuvres ne semble pas si commune; 2) dans l'inventaire Sirleto-Maiorano, le volume fait partie d'un groupe de 9 manuscrits qui ont été ajoutés plus tard à la liste sur des ff. laissés blancs à cette intention; du coup, il n'y a plus rien d'invraisemblable à ce qu'un ms. entré au debut de janvier 1549 ait été ajouté après coup à un inventaire commencé seulement en novembre 1548; 3) si le volume acquis en 1549 n'est pas celui de l'inventaire, il faut qu'il ait disparu: la coïncidence paraît peu vraisemblable».

21. The author's name in W is given as monk Joasaph. E follows Va.

22. G. de Andrès, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Tomo II: Codices 179-420* (Madrid, 1965), p. 83-6; N. M. Panagiotakes, «Λέων ὁ Διάκονος», ΕΕΒΣ, 34 (1965), 86-93.

23. See above n. 21.

Juan Páez de Castro who since 1548 resided in Rome and who was responsible for employing at least one of the Greek scribes John Mavromates of Corfu who copied a number of mss. which were in Rome, such as the Myriobiblos of Photius and works of Sextus Empiricus. It is believed that codex E was copied sometime in this period. After the cardinal's death his mss. were transferred first to the Escorial, then moved to Toledo and finally deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Codex E however together with *Cod. Scorial. gr. Y-I-6* which contains the history of Chalcocandyles, for unknown reasons, remained in the possession of Juan Páez de Castro after whose death (1570) they were deposited, together with his own books, in the Library of Esco

A detailed examination has revealed that E was copied directly from Va, most probably after it was acquired by the Vatican Library in January 1549[25].

24. Ch. Graux, *Essai*, pp. 43-54, 60-79; N. M. Panagiotakes, *loc. cit.*
25. See above n. 20.

C. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

A full collation of the six mss. Ea, P, V, W, Ve, Va and E shows their mutual relationship to have been as follows:

Ea is the first but incomplete version of F.Or. on which P was based. Ea reveals weaknesses usually associated with a first draft, which the author tried to eliminate by concentrating on the following points:

1. He re-wrote certain passages extensively retaining only a few sentences from the original version. E.g. p. 79,*6*-85,*20* cf. 262,*28*-263,*17*.

   Or, he transferred sentences to other sections. E.g. the closing sentence in P (259,*22-25*): ...εἰ μὴ κοτύλαις τὸ πέλαγος μεμετρήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ ποταμοῦ τινος ἀεννάου ἀρυσάμενοι ὅσον οἷον τε δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν γεύσασθαι, ὡς ἂν τὸ πότιμον ἐκείνου καὶ διειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους γένοιτο δῆλον is found in Ea, in a slightly different form, in the early part of the text (267,*28-30*): ...πέλαγος μετρεῖν πειρώμενος ταῖς κοτύλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ μεγίστου δοὺς ὑμῖν γεύσασθαι ὡς ἂν τὸ πότιμον ἐκείνου καὶ διειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους γένοιτο δῆλον.

2. Without disturbing the text he inserted sentences so that any gaps in the argument were eliminated, e.g. Ea 261,*6-7*: «...μήθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν δυναμένους καθαρὰς τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς λόγοις; 'Επεὶ δὲ πάντως οὐ συγχωρήσετε σιωπᾶν.

   P 75,*7-11* «...μήθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν δυναμένους καθαρὰν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς λόγοις; 'Εμέ τε γὰρ ἀφωνία κατέσχεν ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ταυτησὶ συμφορᾶς ὑμᾶς τε τοῦτ' οἶδα παθόντας, οὓς ὁ νῦν θρηνούμενος διαγέγονεν εὖ ποιῶν. 'Επεὶ δὲ πάντως οὐ συγχωρήσετε σιωπᾶν...

3. He altered individual words for accuracy's sake, e.g.:

Ea ἐντοπίων 274,*3*	P ἐπιχωρίων 117,*21*
πατριωτῶν 277,*20*	ὁμοφύλων 127,*24*
στενότητι 272,*19*	ἀπορίᾳ 113,*2*
γυμνασίαις 263,*39*	γυμνασίοις 87,*10*
φωνῆς 265,*10*	γλώττης 91,*24*
παρόμοιον 281,*19*	παραπλήσιον 141,*10*

4. He adopted different proverbs or expressions as being more suitable to the occasion, e.g.:

Ea ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα 271,*8*
P ἐξ ὀνύχων, φασί, τὸν λέοντα 109,*6*
Ea μήτε γέροντά τινα καὶ σεσαθρωμένον 284,*33*
P μήτε γέροντά τινα, ᾧ τὰ γόνατ' ἂν ἠπιστεῖτο πρὸς ἀναγκαίαν βάδισιν 151,*17-18*

5. He made orthographical corrections, e.g.

Ea Πελοπόνησος	P Πελοπόννησος	throughout the text
ὠρώδουν 266,*16*	ὠρρώδουν	95,*20*
κατωρθώματα 271,*13*	κατορθώματα	109,*11*
μελήσεως 281,*22*	μελλήσεως	141,*12*
ἔκκλυτον 283,*13*	ἔκλυτον	147,*15*

ἀνδρία (P) for ἀνδρεία (Ea) and adopted τελέως (P) for τελείως (Ea) throughout the text.

6. He made certain additions of historical importance: In P 127,*32* he introduced the name of Bayezid and proceeded to give more details concerning the affair of Serres.

Ea 279,*24-27* 'Επεὶ δὲ πάντα διαπραξαμένοις οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τούτοις ἀρκεῖν ἡ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβαρικὴ δύναμις, εἰσηγοῦνται τῷ σατράπῃ διαβῆναι τὸν 'Ελλήσποντον ἐξ 'Ασίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδημῆσαι.

P 133,*13-19* 'Επεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα μὲν διαπραξαμένοις τοῖς κακοδαίμοσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐχώρει τὰ καθ' ὑμῶν, ἐδόκει δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβαρικὴ δύναμις, πολλὰ κύκλωθεν πράγματα ἔχουσα, μὴ δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως εἰσιέναι τὸν 'Ισθμὸν καὶ συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ σατράπου βουλεύμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀμηχανίᾳ κατασχεθέντες εἰσηγοῦνται τούτῳ διαβῆναι τὸν 'Ελλήσποντον ἐξ 'Ασίας ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ ταυτηνὶ παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδημῆσαι.

Ea 280,*27-30* 'Εμοῦ δὲ νομίζοντος οἴκοι μένειν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι, κἀκείνου πάλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ ἴσα, συνέβη τὸ φοβερόν. Συνέπεσε δέ τι καὶ χεῖρον· εἶναι γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέρσην τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν ἐξηγουμένους τινῶν ἀνθρώπων, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ τόδε τὸ κλίμα.

P 137,*10-16* Συνέβη δ' ὅμως τὸ φοβερόν, ἐμοῦ μὲν οἴκοι μένειν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι νομίζοντος, κἀκείνου δ' αὖ πάλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ ἴσα λογιζομένου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος οἴκοθεν ἐξελθόντων ἡμέραν, εἰ μέμνημαι καλῶς, τὴν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει δέ γε, καὶ ὥραν. Συνέπεσε δέ τι καὶ χεῖρον· εἶναι γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέρσην τοὺς καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐξηγουμένους Χριστιανῶν, λέγω δὲ τοὺς εἰωθότας ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

V was copied directly from P[3] incorporating the corrections and emendations made during the two revisions of P^{2-3}. For the sake of clarity we have called this version V^1. When a further 65 corrections were made in P^4 these were repeated in V^1 and in some cases by the same hand. Forty-two of these corrections were introduced in the third revision of P (= P^4) and first revision of V^1 (= V^2), while the remaining twenty-three were introduced during the fourth revision of P (= P^5) and second revision of V (= V^3). That these corrections were introduced in two stages can be established from a comparison of the three mss. P, V and Va. Va which was copied directly from P^4 incorporated the forty-two corrections but retained the earlier text in the remaining twenty-three since these had not yet been made in P.

The corrected words, or part of a word, are indicated in italics and they are as follows:

1. Corrections introduced in V^2.

75,*22* δυν*ηθείην; 77,8 ὤν; 77,11 ἀφῆς* (ex ἀφ' ἧς); *77,17 παρόν; 77,19* μονῳ*δήσαντας*; 81,*2 τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πεφύτευται; 95,1 ὡς;* 99,*7* συνελ*ὼν ὡς οἷόν τε;* 99,*21* προτιθέντ*α;* 101,*19 τῷ;* 107,*17 φήμην;* 107,*22 εἰ καὶ* λίαν δεινότατα ἦν; 109,*23 γ';* 111,*13* τελέως; 111,*14 ἴδῃ* 113,*21* ὑμῖν; 115,*19* ὑμῖν; 115,*26 ὡς τὰ πολλά;* 125,*5*, ἐτράπετο; 129,*11 ὦσωσι;* 129,*28* μακρῷ; 131,*14 τῷ* ἰδίῳ συνειδ*ότι;* 133,*7* παροτρύνοντες; 137,*22 προστάγμασιν;* 139,*5 ᾔδεσαν;* 147,*18* παιδαρ*ίων;* 149,*6-7 εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ πρᾶον ἐπιδεῖξαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει;* 171,*14 ληφθεῖσι* κλύδωνι; 175,*27 κέντρον ἐγένετο;* 187,*5* γράμματ*α;* 195,*18 μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερβολῆς;* 217,*29* ὁρῶσ*ιν;* 227,*23 μακρῷ;* 229,*15 καὶ πολὺ τῶν σῶν* κουφοτέραις; 235,*20 οἱ θρηνοῦντες;* 235,*23 ὁ λέγων;* 235,*25 οἱ θρηνοῦντες;* 241,*10* οὐκ *ὤ*φελε; 241,*31* ἄντικρυς *ὑπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς τε;* 257,*5 ἦν;* 257,*5-6 ἡμῖν ... κἀκείνῳ;* 257,*6-7 ἐκείνῳ πάντως ἂν ἦν.*

2. Corrections introduced in V^3 (= V).

85,*22 ὤν; 91,24 γλώττης;* 117,*21* ἥττων; 117,*31 τοῦ* ἐπιόντ*ος;* 119,*1* σφετεριζ*ομένου;* 129,*12* τούτους; 129,*13-14* μολύνο*ντας;* 133,*2* ἀλλήλους *πρὸς τὰ κακά; 149,27 ᾧ;* 159,*22 δοῦλος πάνυ δικαίως;* 165,*1 κλῆρον;* 177,*18 συγκαταθέσει;* 193,*12* τῷδε; 205,*9* πανταχ*όσε;* 207,*18 εὐμενείας;* 219,*30*-220,*2* order of words q.v.; 227,*19*-20 order of words q.v.; 233,29 *μὲν;* 251,*34 δόξαν;* 257,*18 δόξαν;* 257,*26* τοσῷδε μόνῳ; 259,*3* ἀνδρὶ (ex ἀνδρί τε); 259,*21* προτιμήσῃς P: προτιμήσε*ις* V.

3. There are fifty-eight variant readings in V.

   i) The copyist of V (apart from incorporating the mistakes in (P) made one orthographical error: 79,*15* προτείων V for πρωτείων P.

   ii) The copyist of V made two orthographical corrections:

123,*20* πρίγκιπος V for πρίγγιπος P; 259,*21* προτιμήσεις for προτιμήσῃς.

iii) The copyist of V made thirteen inadvertent errors:
87,*12* αὐτὸν for αὐτῷ; 113,*16* ἡμᾶς for ὑμᾶς; 141,*5* ἐβούλετο for ἐβουλεύετο; 141,*13* βάλλοιτο for βάλοιτο; 143,*4* αὐτοὺς for αὐτοῦ; 145,*22* συγεκραμένη for συγκεκραμένη; 157,*17* δὴ for δέ; 157,*23* ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν; 193,*23* πάντως for πάντων; 211,*12* ἀρκέσειν for ἀρκέσειεν; 227,*11* λαμπρὰ for λαμπροτέρα; 229,*10* συμφοραῖς for ἐπιφοραῖς; 249,*30* γῆς for πηγῆς.

iv) The copyist of V changed the word-order on two occasions:
127,*2* *ἐτύγχανον αὖθις* for αὖθις ἐτύγχανον; 217,*6-7* ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν for ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων.

v) The copyist of V inadvertently omitted five words which existed in P when he made his copy:
87,*3* ἔτι; 197,*22* πάσῃ; 233,*4* τοι; 237,*17* τοῦ; 251,*22* δέ.

vi) The copyist of V adopted (perhaps inadvertently) an alternative form or mood on five occasions:
103,*21* ἡμῶν for ἡμῖν; 113,*22* εἵνεκα for ἕνεκα; 139,*15* εἴπῃ for εἴποι; 163,*10* & 183,*15* εἰς for ἐς; 189,*7* ἔχοι for ἔχει;

vii) The copyist of V during the revision of the text inadvertently omitted to repeat five corrections made in P. That these corrections were accessible to him is shown by the fact that they were incorporated in Va which reflects an earlier version of the text. These are:
85,*7* τῷ for τὸ; 107,*2* ἐποίει for ἐπῄει; 203,*5* νοθείαν for νωθείαν; 257,*26* ὅσον for ὅσῳ; 259,*8* ἵλεω for ἵλεων.

viii) Four marginal corrections have been omitted in V. It is possible that these were originally in the codex but were removed by the clipping of the margins. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that out of 35 existing marginal glosses and corrections 15 are impaired. These marginal corrections seem to have been made in P at an early stage, that is, after V was copied but before Va, since they were incorporated in Va's text. In other words the copyist of V would have had access to them during the revision of V. It is likely that this was so and the revised word was written in the margin of V. That at least in one case the marginal correction existed is proved by the fact that the word ὦσαι (145,*13*) has two dots above it which would indicate that the word had been corrected in the margin. Unfortunately none of the scribes follows strictly the rule of indicating the word in the text to be altered by placing a sign (usually two or three dots) over it. It is therefore impossible to tell with any certainty

whether these marginal emendations existed in V. Whatever the case these omissions are:

145,*13* ὥσας; 165,*13* οὐ συγχωροῦσιν ἀναβολήν; 169,*4* συνήνεγκε; 249,*33* λόγῳ τῷδε.

ix) There are a further 21 corrections in P which are not found in V. The reason for this seems to be that by the time these were introduced in P, V was no longer in the imperial possession and therefore these last emendations could not have been inserted in V's text. That they were made at a later stage is attested by the fact that these are not found in Va either. Eleven of these are found in W (the last ms. to be copied directly from P) while the remaining nine are unique to P.

99,*18* παραιτήσασθαι P παραιτήσεσθαι V; 99,*19* τῷ P τὸ V; 115,*11* τοῦ P om. V; 115,*12-13* word-order, see text; 117,*24* ἀγενὴς (ex -νν) P ἀγεννὴς V; 123,*13* κατῃσχυμμένους P κατῃσχυμένους V; 127,*18* βιάζηται P καθέλκῃ V; 133,*5* ὑμῶν P ἡμῶν V; 133,*8* ὑμᾶς P ἡμᾶς V; 135,*26* ὑμῖν P ἡμῖν V; 137,*8* ἀπείρητο P ἀπήρητο V; 139,*16* παραγίγνεται P παραγίνεται V; 147,*14* στύφον P στίφον V; 149,*26* ἀγεννεστέραν P ἀγενεστέραν V; 155,*25* βληχώμενος P βληχόμενος V;179,*14-15* ἀπευκταίων P ἀπευκτέων V; 213,*13* Πηλείωνα P Πηλίωνα V; 227,*15* ὅπως P ὅπως οὐκ V; 227,*19* ὑποστὰν P ὑπομεῖναν V; 235,*2* ὅπως P ὅπως οὐ V; 251,*15* ἰσχυριζομένους P ἰσχυριζομένοις V.

W was copied from P^6 incorporating the corrections made by the author during the previous revisions. This is established by the fact that there are eleven corrections which are not found in Va or V which represent an earlier stage of the text, namely, P^4 and P^{3-5}.

These eleven corrections are:

99,*18* παραιτήσασθαι; 115,*10* τοῦ; 115,*11-12* word order, q.v. 123,*13* κατῃσχυμμένους; 133,*5* ὑμῶν; 133,*8* ὑμᾶς; 135,*26* ὑμῖν; 139,*16* παραγίγνεται; 155,*25* βληχώμενος; 227,*15* ὅπως; 235,*2* ὅπως. These last two seem to have been made at the same time as in P.

There are fifty-six variants. Of these:

i) The copyist of W inadvertently misread or miscopied words. These amount to twenty-two:

87,*12* αὐτῷ P: αὐτῶν W; 97,*14* ἐρωμένων P: ἱερωμένων W; 105,*29-30* συνεκεκλήρωτο P: συγκεκλήρωτο W; 109,*22* ἀπηριθμημένων P: ἀπηριθμουμένων W; 121,*8* μήτε P: μήτ' W; 125,*25* μηδὲν P: μηδενὶ

W; 135,*3* προκεκλημένος P: προσκεκλημένος W; 137,*10* φόνον P: φθόνον W; 145,*20* Σικελικὸς P: Σικελίας W; 147,*12* τοι P: τι W; 167,*25* αὐτοὺς P: αὐτὸς W; 173,*2* συμβάσεσι P: συμβιβάσεσι W; 183,*8* δεῖν P: δὴ W; 185,*10* κινῆσαν P: νικῆσαν W; 203,*29* τῷ P: τὸ W; 207,*19* αὐτῆς P: αὐτοῖς W; 241,*11* ἠλέγχθημεν P: ἠλέχθημεν W; 243,*24* τε P: γε W; 247,*28* ἐκεῖ P: ἐκεῖνα W; 247,*29* τοσοῦτο P: τοσούτῳ W; 249,*16* χορεύσουσι P: χορεύουσι W; 253,*17* ὅτε P: ὅτι W.

ii) The copyist of W made four orthographical corrections. In one case he adopted the more generally accepted spelling: 117,*13* χηραμοὺς W *for* χειραμοὺς P; in the other three cases he corrected the erroneous spelling of:
119,*16* μαγνῖτιν P *to* μαγνῆτιν W; 123,*20* πρίγγιπος P *to* πρίγκιπος W; 259,*21* προτιμήσῃς P *to* προτιμήσεις W.

iii) The copyist of W made one addition:
175,*2* πρὸς ᾧ P: πρὸς ᾧ γε W.

iv) The copyist of W made nineteen inadvertent omissions. Of these seven are words contained in the text:
75,*2* κυροῦ; 85,*1* τὰ; 101,*17* τὴν; 187,*25* γε; 195,*6* τῇ; 237,*16* μόνον; 259,*6* ἡ.
The remaining twelve are glossaries and marginal emendations: 123,*1* ἐπιθήκη; 145,*13* ὥσας; 153,*2* ἐκ ταὐτομάτου; 155,*6* εἰσηχότων; 165,*1* κλῆρον; 165,*13* οὐ συγχωροῦσιν ἀναβολὴν; 169,*4* συνήνεγκε; 219,*4-5* γνωμικὸν; 227,*19-20* οὐδέ τι τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους μαρασμὸν ὑπομεῖναν διέμενεν; 229,*15* ὅ τίς οὐκ ἂν; 249,*33* λόγῳ τῷδε; 255,*2* γνωμικόν.

v) There are a further ten omissions which could not have been known to the copyist of W since they were introduced in the last revision of P made after W was copied and therefore are unique to P. These are: 99,*19* τῷ; 117,*24* ἀγενὴς; 127,*18* βιάζηται; 137,*8* ἀπείρητο; 147,*14* στύφον; 149,*26* ἀγεννεστέραν; 179,*14-15* ἀπευκταίων; 213,*13* Πηλείωνα; 227,*19* ὑποστὰν; 251,*15* ἰσχυριζομένους.

The evidence contained in the surviving eight leaves in Ve is not sufficient for any definite conclusions to be drawn. The existing evidence at times seems to point in opposite directions.

There are two instances that may suggest that P derived from Ve:

i) 75,*8-10* ἐμέ τε γὰρ ἀφωνία κατέσχεν ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ταυτησὶ συμφορᾶς ὑμᾶς τε τοῦτ' οἶδα παθόντας, οὓς ὁ νῦν θρηνούμενος διαγέγονεν εὖ ποιῶν. This sentence was introduced in the revised

version of the F.Or. and therefore it is not found in Ea. In Ve it is appended in the margin, while in P is incorporated in the text.

ii) 81,*26* the word οὐκ in Ve is inserted above the line, perhaps by a different hand, while in P it is incorporated in the text.

Yet neither of these two instances by themselves entitle us to assume that P was copied from Ve, as these may be a scribe's inadvertent omissions. Moreover the erroneous reading of λόγοις in Ve for ὅλοις in Ea/P (261,*11*/75,*14*) excludes the possibility of P deriving from Ve.

Two instances on the other hand may suggest that Ve derived from P:

i) 87,*12* ἐπ' αὐτὸν s.s. ᾧ P: ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ve.

ii) 91,*2* δὲ s.s. P: in text Ve.

Yet neither of these two adoptions by Ve is sufficient evidence to reach such a conclusion. In the second case the δὲ in P may be a slip of the scribe subsequently spotted and corrected, while in the first example the correction may not have been made originally in P but on the first draft of the revised version (= X). For we have noticed that occasionally when the author was undecided as to which of the case-forms he should adopt he left both alternatives in the text. The copyist of W gave both versions sometimes simply copying what he saw, at others adopting the second version in the text and giving the first one above the line. The copyist of Va on the other hand ignores the first version entirely and always adopts the corrections. (Q.v. 87,*12*; 173,*12*; 247,*11*). It is possible therefore that in this case too Ve's scribe followed this latter method and adopted the second version of the case-form while P's scribe copying from the same ms. faithfully copied what he saw.

It is perhaps more likely that both Ve and P derive from a common ms. but that Ve represents the earliest version of the revised text since P subsequently underwent further revision. This is clear from the following considerations:

1. Of the forty-two variants in Ve, forty-one of these originally were also in P but subsequently altered as the erasures and insertions indicate.

   i) In twenty-three cases Ve retained the original reading as found in Ea: 75,*5* om. Ve/Ea: ῥηθεὶς ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοῦ βασιλέως P; 75,*22*/261,*19* δυναίμην Ve/Ea: δυνηθείην P; 75,*24*/261,*21* θηρεύων Ve/Ea: θηρῶν P; 75,*25*/261,*22* προυχεῖτο Ve/Ea: προχεῖται P; 75,*25*/261,*23* κατέσχε Ve/Ea: κατέχει P; 75,*26*/261,*23* εἴα Ve/Ea: ἐᾷ P; 77,*3*/261,*26* ἡμιθανεῖ Ve/Ea: ἡμιθνῆτι P; 77,*8*/261,*31* ἐν τῇ

ταυτότητι μένω Ve/Ea: ὢν ἐμαυτοῦ τυγχάνω P; 77,*17*/262,*9* νῦν ἐπιχείρημα Ve/Ea: παρὸν ἐγχείρημα P; 77,*19*/262,*10* ἐπαινέσοντάς τε καὶ μονῳδήσαντας Ve/Ea: μονῳδήσαντάς τε καὶ ἐπαινέσοντας P; 77,*25*/262,*17* τοῦ πατρὸς Ve/Ea: τῶν πατέρων P; διδασκάλου Ve/Ea: διδασκάλων P; 85,*22*/263,*19* ἅμα τῷ φῦναι Ve/Ea: παιδίον ὢν P; 87,*2*/263,*31* ἁμιλλωμένους Ve/Ea: ἁμιλλωμένοις P; 89,*2*/264,*13* ῥαθυμίαις Ve/Ea: ῥαθυμίᾳ P; 89,*10*/264,*21* ἄπτωτος Ve/Ea: ἀκατάπτωτος P; 91,*3*/264,*32* ἀλλὰ κἂν Ve/Ea: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ P; 91,*24*/265,*10* φωνῆς Ve/Ea: γλώττης P; 93,*4*/265,*18* αἱ δοκιμαὶ Ve/Ea: μάλιστα αἱ βάσανοι P; 95,*5*/266,*3* κοινωνηκότατος Ve: κοινωνικώτατος Ea: κοινότατος P; 95,*10*/266,*8* κυριώτερα Ve/Ea: καιριώτερα P; 95,*23*/266,*19* κατερρύηκε Ve/Ea: κατερρυήκει P; 95,*29*/266,*26* τῷ Ve/Ea: τὸ P.

ii) The further seventeen variants have no counterpart in Ea since they resulted from the first revision:
81,*2* ἐν οἵῳ τῷ χωρίῳ πεφυτευμένον Ve: τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πεφύτευται P; 81,*12* φανεροῦν Ve: δεικνύειν P; 81,*14* ἀγαθοὶ Ve: ἀγαθὴ P; 81,*15* παρόμοιον Ve: παραπλήσιον P; 81,*21* σκῶμμα Ve: μέμψιν P; 81,*22* ἐνδεεῖς Ve: ἐπιδεεῖς P; 81,*26* δεξόμενος Ve: δεχόμενος P; 83,*25* ἀποδεικνῦναι Ve: ἀποδεικνύντων P; 83,*28* παρέλκον ἂν εἴη καὶ μάταιον Ve: περίεργον ἂν εἴη σαφῶς P; 85,*1* εἴη Ve: εἶεν P; 85,*2* ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς Ve: ἐπιχειροῦντες οἱ P; διώκοντας Ve: διώκοντες P; μοι δὲ Ve: δέ μοι P; 85,*7* τῷ Ve: τὸ P; 87,*18* ἁλίσκεται Ve: ὑποπίπτει P; 89,*2* ἑαυτὸν Ve: αὑτὸν P; 95,*1* ὅσῳ καὶ Ve: ὡς καὶ P.

iii) The remaining two variants are simple mistakes:
75,*14*/261,*11* λόγοις Ve: ὅλοις P/Ea; 79,*1*/262,*24* ἡμᾶς Ve: ὑμᾶς P/Ea.

2. Ve made thirty-three corrections:

i) thirty-one of these have been also made in P as the erasures and insertions indicate:
75,*21*/261,*18* ὄφλημα Ve[1]/Ea: χρέος Ve/P; 77,*31*/262,*23* τιμήσαιμι Ve[1]/Ea; τιμῆσαι μοι Ve/P; 81,*20* εἴησαν Ve[1]: ἦσαν Ve/P; 83,*25* δὲ Ve[1]: *cancell.* Ve/P; 83,*27* οἰκοδομῆς Ve[1]: οἰκοδομίας Ve/P; 85,*15* προτιμῶντες (corr. ντες) Ve/P; 87,*10*/263,*39* ταῖς γυμνασίαις Ve[1]/Ea: τοῖς γυμνασίοις Ve/P; 87,*24*/264,*10* οὐ γὰρ νουνεχὴς Ve[1]/Ea: οὐ γὰρ νουνεχής τε γὰρ ἦν Ve: νουνεχής τε γὰρ ἦν P; 87,*25*/264,*10-11* οὐ γὰρ δίκαιος Ve[1]/Ea: δίκαιος Ve/P; οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος Ve[1]/Ea: ἀνδρεῖος Ve/P; οὐ τῶν πλειόνων Ve[1]/Ea: τῶν πλειόνων Ve/P; 89,*1*/264,*12* ὥστε συνεχῶς Ve[1]/Ea: ὡς αἰεὶ Ve/P; 89,*3*/264,*14* οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς Ve[1]/Ea: ὁ αὐτὸς Ve/P; οὐκ ἀνεπαχθὴς Ve[1]: ἀνεπαχθὴς Ve/P; 89,*4*/264,*15* οὐκ ἐμβριθὴς Ve[1]/Ea: ἐμβριθὴς Ve/P; 89,*5*/264,*16* οὐκ οἰκονομικὸς Ve[1]/Ea: οἰκονομικὸς Ve/P; μεγαλόψυχος οὐ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα

Ve[1]/Ea: μεγαλόψυχος Ve/P; οὐ τῆς Ve[1]/Ea: ὡς καὶ Ve/P; 89,*11* οὐ τοῖς Ve[1]: τοῖς Ve/P; 89,*12* αὐτοῖς τὴν Ve[1]: τὴν Ve/P; οὐ τὸν Ve[1]: τὸν Ve/P; 89,*15.16*; 91,*13*/264,*22.23*;265,*1* οἶδε Ve[1]/Ea: ᾔδει Ve/P; 91, *28*/265,*14* ἀγαθῶν Ve[1]: καλῶν Ve/P/Ea; 95,*2*/265,*40* ἔχειν εὐχαριστοῦντας Ve[1]/Ea: χάριν ὁμολογοῦντας εἰδέναι Ve/P; ἔχειν Ve/P; 95,*10* οἶδε. Ve[1]: ᾔδει Ve/P; 95,*21*/266,*18* ἀντέστραπται Ve[1]/Ea: ἀντέστραπτο Ve/P; 97,*3*/266,*30* γενικώτατα Ve[1]/Ea: ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ Ve/P; 97,*5*/266,*32* μερικωτέρων Ve[1]/Ea: τῶν καθέκαστα Ve/P.

ii) The remaining two are corrections of slips or oversights: 89,*19* οὐ ταράττετο Ve[1] to οὐκ ἐταράττετο Ve/P; 95,*13*/266,*10* παιδεύσεως Ve[1] to φύσεως Ve/P/Ea.

Va is a transcript of P[4] though most probably deriving from an intermediary copy. It was made when the majority of the corrections had been already introduced in P.

In all there are 102 variants in Va.

1. Forty-five of these represent the earlier text of F.Or. They were corrected in P at later stages after Va had been copied.
   i) Twenty-four of these were introduced in P[5]. They are as follows: 85,*22* ὧν P: ὃν Va; 91,*24* γλώττης P: φωνῆς Va; 117,*21* ἥττων P: ἧττον Va; 117,*31* τοῦ ἐπιόντος P: τὸν ἐπιόντα Va; 119,*1* σφετεριζομένου P: σφετερίζεσθαι Va; 129,*12* τούτους P: τούτοις Va; 129,*13-14* μολύνοντας P: μολύνουσι Va; 133,*2* ἀλλήλους πρὸς τὰ κακὰ P: ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς Va; 149,*27* ᾧ P: ὃν Va; 159,*22* ὧν P: οἷς Va; δοῦλος πάνυ δικαίως P: δικαίως ἀνδράποδον Va; 165,*1* κλῆρον P: χειροτονίαν Va; 177,*18* συγκαταθέσει P: συνθήκη Va; 193,*12* τῷδε P: τόδε Va; 205,*9* πανταχόσε P: πανταχῇ Va; 207,*18* εὐμενείας P: εὐνοίας Va; 219,*30-221,2,* order of words q.v.; 227,*19-20* order of words q.v.; 227,*23* μακρῷ P: μακρότερον Va; 233,*26* μὲν P: om. Va; 251,*34* δόξαν P: βεβουλευμένον Va; 257,*18* δόξαν P: βεβουλευμένον Va; 259,*3* ἀνδρὶ P: ἀνδρί τε Va; 259,*21* προτιμήσῃς P: προτιμήσῃ Va.
   ii) Twenty-one of these were introduced in P[6] and therefore they are not found in V either. They are listed on p. 49 § ix.
2. The remaining fifty-six variants are errors of some kind or other. It is unnecessary to detail all of them; some examples are:
   i) The copyist of Va made inadvertent errors: 79,*1* ὑμᾶς P: ἡμᾶς Va; 201,*25* εἰρῆσθαι P: ἡγεῖσθαι Va; 239,*16* δεῖ P: δὴ Va.
   ii) The copyist of Va occasionally inserted words which are not in the text:

89,*1* οὐ P: οὐδὲ Va; 119,*1* καὶ *post* σφετ. Va; 123,*5* λέγων P: λέγων τε Va.

iii) The copyist of Va occasionally made orthographical errors: 77,*23* παρασύρεσθαι P: παρασείρεσθαι Va; 115,*6* μετενηνεγμένων P: μετενενηνεγμένων Va; 255,*13* ἐπικέηται P: ἐπικαίηται Va.

iv) The copyist of Va perhaps inadvertently sometimes changed the word-order; some examples: 127,*11* παρ' αὐτῶν εὔγνωμον ἀπολήψεσθαι P: εὔγνωμον ἀπολήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν Va; 145,*15* οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσε ποτε P: οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἠξίωσε Va; 181,*14* 'κείνους πρώτους P: πρώτους ἐκείνους Va.

v) The copyist deliberately changed one word: 235,*23* ὁ λέγων P: ὁ βασιλεὺς Va.

3. The copyist of Va added the names of the authors of the Προθεωρία τοῦ λόγου, Περὶ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου and of the two epigrams that are not given in P but only in W. He differs from the W version in the case of Joasaph who is given as τοῦ 'Εφέσου κῦρ 'Ιωάσαφ. These names seem to have been added after the completion of those leaves.

E was copied directly from Va. This is clear from the fact that out of 102 variants in Va, E contains 101. It is not however a faithful transcript of Va. The text of E, as compared with Va, shows 159 variants. Of these 133 are errors of some kind or other made inadvertently by the copyist. The remaining 29 variants were deliberately introduced into the text by him. It is unnecessary to detail all these variants; some examples are:

1. The copyist of E made inadvertent omissions which range from single letters to words or even whole sentences: 81,*14* καὶ ἡ Va: om. E; 125,*25* προεισενεγκόντες Va: προσενεγκόντες E; 233,*7-8* καί σου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων Va: om. E.
2. The copyist of E twice inadvertently changed the word-order: 83,*21-22* πάντων κάλλιστον Va κάλλιστον πάντων E; 151,*2* ἰσθμὸν ἐκεῖνον Va ἐκεῖνον ἰσθμὸν E.
3. The copyist of E ocassionally made blunders. The more significant of these are: 87,*7* ἑταίροις Va ἑτέροις E; 105,*9* λυπρὰν Va λαμπρὰν E; 117,*22* κατέχων Va κατ' ἐχθρῶν E; 117,*23* ὑπάρξαι Va ἀπάρξαι E; 139,*16* νέηλυς Va νέκυς E; 159,*25* γυμνασθεῖσαν Va γυμνωθεῖσαν E; 217,*32* ἐν αὐτοῖς Va; ἐνιαυτοῖς E.
4. The copyist of E occasionally made a deliberate attempt at annotating the text by appending marginal glosses. These consist of the words **ὡραῖον** or C^{η} (= Σημείωσαι) to indicate the importance of the relevant passages in ten

cases, chapter headings in five places, two historical notes and one reference to Chalcocandyles. We give some examples:
111,*23* C^{η}; 117,*6* ὡραῖον; 119,*22* Περὶ τῆς ἀφίξεως 'Ιλλυριῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον; 153,*6* Περὶ τοῦ 'Ρανέρη; 183,*16* περὶ τῆς λήψεως Τροιζήνης τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου Φαναρίου καὶ ἑτέρων πόλεων Πελοποννησίων ἃς ἔλαβον οἱ 'Ρόδιοι παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου κῦρ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου. C^{η} Ταῦτα καὶ ἐν Προβελεγίοις τῶν Μαλαξίων φαίνεται γεγονόσι τῷ τότε τούτοις ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ροδίων κατὰ τὸ ͵αυα$^{\text{ον}}$ ἔτος τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως. C^{η} Περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πράξεων μέμνηται Λαόνικος ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοριῶν.

5. The copyist of E substituted the word ἀνδρείαν for ἀνδρίαν throughout the text.
6. The copyist of E corrected one misspelling
137,*8* ἀπείρητο for ἀπήρητο
7. The copyist of E adopted an alternative form which presumably was more familiar to him.
245,*10* σκοτομήνης (= LXX Ps. 10) for σκοτομαίνης Va.

The variants in E have not been given in the *apparatus criticus.*

Comparison of Ea, P, Ve, Va, V, W and E has thus revealed that Ea represents the first draft of the F.Or. which the author abandonned probably half-way through for the more extensive version found in P. This second version of the F.Or. however was revised seven times over a period. Ve, Va (and its simple transcript E), V and W reflect the stages of the first to the sixth revision, while P (as we have it to-day) incorporates all seven revisions. The author, therefore, undoubtedly intended P to be the definitive version or his work and the printed text below is based on this codex.

D. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Three editions of the Funeral Oration have hitherto been published. The first based on P was made in 1648 by F. Combéfis who also translated the text into Latin[26]. In 1672 La Bigne re-issued the Latin translation separately[27]. In 1866 J. P. Migne republished Combéfis' text and translation[28].

The third and final edition was the work of S. Lampros which appeared posthumously in 1926[29]. It was based on the five mss. Ea, P, V, W, E.

Combéfis tells us in his preface to *Candido Lectore* that he based his edition on the Du Tillet ms. (= P). Comparison however shows that in many places he diverged from the text as a result of misreadings, particularly of abbreviations. The edition has also a number of printing errors. Migne who reprinted Combéfis' text corrected the printing errors, but he also introduced a small number of his own. And since he did not collate the text with P he retained most of Combéfis' divergent readings. We note here only the divergencies of the Migne edition, since this is the most commonly used. For the sake of accuracy we shall refer to it as Combéfis-Migne.

There are over two-hundred and forty discrepancies between the text of Combéfis-Migne and P.

1. Combéfis-Migne misread or miscopied several words, some on account of their abbreviated form, e.g.
   83,*12* ἀπαλλαξόμεθα P: ἀλλαξόμεθα C-M; 95,*28* ἐπήδων P: ἐπῆδον C-M; 117,*26* δοκοῦν P: δοκούντων C-M; 125,*13* Ραοὺλ P: Ραοῦν C-M; 143,*14* Ὁμούρης P: ὁ Μούρης C-M; 163,*13* ὑπερθέσεις P: ὑπερβάσεις C-M; 213,*2* Ἄθω P: ἄνω C-M.

26. *Historia haeresis monothelitarum* etc., in *Graeco-Lat. Patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium* (Paris, 1648), 1037-1214.

27. ed. La Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum Patrum* (Lyons, 1677), Tome 26.

28. *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series graeca posterior ...* accurante J. P. Migne (Paris, 1886), Tome 156, pp. 175-308.

29. *PP* III, pp. 1-119.

2. Combéfis-Migne omitted words and phrases, e.g.
107,*20* ἐξεῖναι P; 173,*11* μήτε πυρὶ P; 173,*20* προὐβεβήκει οὕτω; 195,*29* ἐκεῖνα γὰρ οἴχεται πανταχόθεν P; 257,*23-24* τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παράθεσιν ὅλως οὐ δέχεται P.
3. Combéfis-Migne made occasional changes in word-order, e.g.
151,*27* πάντων ἕνεκα P: ἕνεκα πάντων C-M; 187,*20* ἡδίω πολλῷ P: πολλῷ ἡδίω C-M; 215,*10* πλεονεκτήμασι καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἕκτωρ εἰς εὐψυχίαν ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶ P: πλεονεκτήμασι ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶ καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἕκτωρ εἰς εὐψυχίαν C-M.
4. Combéfis-Migne here and there added words not found in P, e.g.
179,*27* ἀσμενέστατα P: ὡς ἀσμενέστατα C-M; 181,*20* πάντα καλὰ P: πάντα τὰ καλὰ C-M; 253,*18* ὧν P: ὧν τε C-M.
5. Combéfis-Migne ignored all but one marginal emendation.
6. Combéfis-Migne seems to have made some deliberate attempts at emendation, e.g.
75,*13* ἀμηγέπη P: ἐμοὶ γεπῆ C-M; 81,*7* ’κείνου P: ἐκείνου C-M; 107,*26* κλάοντα P: κλαίοντα C-M; 149,*14* ἔφθησαν P: ἔφθασαν C-M; 205,*18-19* τεθναξόμενοι P: τεθνηξόμενοι C-M.

Lampros based his edition of the F.Or. on five of the six extant mss.: Ea, P, V, W, E (= I, Π, V, B, E) although he must have known of the existence of Va (= β) since he used it for the epigram of Demetrius Magister[30]. His edition in a sense marks an advance on that of Migne; Lampros collated the five mss., introduced an *apparatus criticus* and was able to correct the majority of the mistakes found in Migne, although he too made errors.

The major defect of his edition however is that Lampros did not realise that each of the mss. he used reflected different stages of the author's writing. He seems to have regarded the five mss. as if they were simple copyists's variants out of which an «edited text» could be construed. He therefore had no compunction in mixing the first discarded draft (Ea) with the final version (P), or preferring variants found only in E, or again accepting the first version of a word or a sentence despite the marginal note that the reading should be altered.

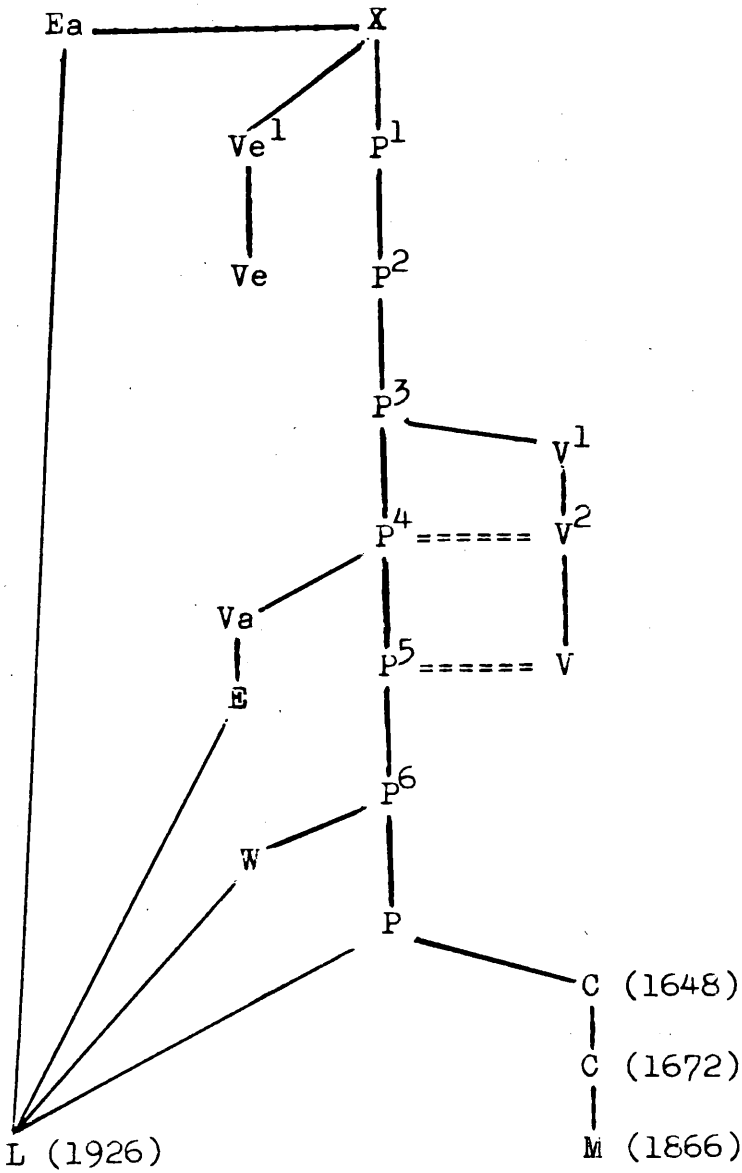
In all seventy-eight discrepancies between his edition and P have been traced. We have concentrated on the text alone and have not taken into account the numerous errors found in his *apparatus criticus* since these do

30. p. 9 n. 2. It is possible that he intended to use this ms. but he never completed the collation of all the existing mss.

not affect the actual text.

1. Lampros in four places adopted Ea, e.g.
   89,*4* ἐμβριθὴς P; οὐκ ἐμβριθὴς L; 135,*16-17* ὀλίγον ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ P ὥσπερ ἐφείδετο ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ L.
2. Lampros in nine places followed the first version of word or sentence cited in the text, e.g.
   153,*2* ἐκ ταὐτομάτου: ἐξ αὐτομάτου L; 165,*1* κλῆρον: χειροτονίαν L.
3. Lampros in four places followed E, e.g.
   155,*30* ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ L; 195,*32* δὴ: δύο L.
4. Lampros in six places followed codd. other than P, e.g.
   203,*5* νωθείαν: νοθείαν L; 227,*15* ὅπως: ὅπως οὐκ L.
5. Lampros misread the text in nineteen places, erroneously attributing these readings to various codd., e.g.
   107,*27* ἔσεσθαι: ἕπεσθαι L; *219, 3* ἐπίδειξιν: ἀπόδειξιν L.
6. Lampros made three wrong emendations, e.g.
   87,*14* νικῶν: νικᾶν L; 213,*15* τούτων: τοῦτον L.
7. Lampros made three unnecessary additions, e.g.
   87,*2* ἐρίζειν: ἐρίζειν τι L; 115,*24* ἐκεῖνος: ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν L.
8. Lampros made a further thirty mistakes either because he read or transcribed some words incorrectly or these are simply typographical errors, e.g.
   139,*22* τόπον: τύπον L; 147,*22* ἐνστάσεως: ἐντάσεως L; 239,*16* ζῆν: τὴν L.

The relationships of mss. and editions may be seen in the following tree:



E. THE PRESENT EDITION

The examination of the mss. and their relation to each other has shown that Ea was the first draft which most probably remained unfinished. This version was undoubtedly discarded by the emperor who proceeded to rewrite and expand his work. This recasting resulted in P. An edition of the F.Or. therefore cannot be based on a combination of Ea and P, as Lampros had done in certain cases. On the other hand to be able to follow Manuel's method of work, which emerges from a comparison of the two texts, we consider it to be of some interest to scholars. Any appreciation of his method however would be impossible if the different readings of Ea were to be given in the apparatus criticus mangled and hacked out of their context, as in the Lampros edition. We have therefore decided to give the full text of Ea in the appendix.

Concerning the mss. V, Va, W, E, they all derive directly or indirectly from P and reflect the various stages of the development of the completed text. P thus is not only the source of the whole textual tradition, but it is also the text as Manuel II intended it to be. On this ms. therefore, a new edition must be based.

In view of these facts, we have faithfully adhered to the version of P except on nine occasions which involve simple orthographical errors. We have retained the participle as verbal adjective instead of emending it to infinitive, as Lampros had done, since this was a Byzantine usage and has been recognized as such by recent scholars[31]. Similarly we have retained the Byzantine orthography in cases where this has been recognized as an alternative spelling, albeit of rare usage. But we have tacitly introduced the *iota subscript* and the rough breathing for αὐτὸς where its use would have added to the clarity of the text.

There remains a further point. P, as we have seen, was revised a number

31. G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin, 1956), p. 200_2 cf. W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Syntax,* § 609; Id., *Greek Grammar,* § 934.

of times involving the correction of 496 lines, a total of more than a thousand words. We were faced with the problem of how best to convey to the reader the extensive rewriting that took place and at the same time produce an edition which was not overburdened with unnecessary detail. There were three alternatives.

Either to indicate these erasures and corrections in the apparatus criticus, as Lampros had done, with the words *post rasuram scripsit* which in actual fact would have informed the reader very little of the problems entailed and would have unnecessarily overloaded the apparatus.

Or, to indicate the erasures and corrections in the actual text with the help of brackets. But bearing in mind that there are more than a thousand of these, some of which involve part of words only, such a procedure ran the risk of spoiling the aesthetic appearance of the text without informing the reader of the problems at issue.

The third alternative seemed more satisfactory, namely, to discuss extensively the erasures and emendations in the critical introduction and step by step provide the reader with the evidence which led us to our conclusions.

The third alternative has been adopted in the belief that this provides a full account of the problems concerning the F.Or. and at the same time keeps faith with the author's intentions concerning the aesthetic appearance of the text.

The apparatus criticus is divided into two sections and contains

1. references to sources and parallel passages
2. variants of mss.

In the second section we have adopted a positive apparatus noting all the variants of mss. with the exception of E; but, as mentioned above, we have not noted the erasures in the text.

The notes placed under the English translation aim at an immediate and brief illucidation of the text which abounds in obscure historical references. Where however the events alluded to needed a more extensive treatment, the reader is referred to the Introduction. In the notes the reader has as far as possible been referred to primary sources and not to secondary, unless these contain original documents, but all relevant secondary works will be found in the bibliography.

Concerning the translation of certain names, e.g. Ἰλλύριοι, Μυσοί, Πέρσαι, Τριβαλλοί, where the fifteenth century Greek vernacular usage has a modern equivalent this has been used. On this principle, Bayezid who appears in the Greek text as «satrap», is always translated as «sultan».

PLAN OF THE FUNERAL ORATION

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ

P. f. I Προθεωρία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου

Περιπαθὲς μὲν τὸ προοίμιον καὶ οἷον γένοιτ' ἂν ἀδελφῷ μάλιστα πρέπον, ἐπιτάφιον ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ διεξιόντι. Πατρίδος δὲ καὶ γένους βραχύ τι μνησθεὶς ὁ τάδε λέγων θειότατος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνδιατρίβει τῷ περὶ τούτων χωρίῳ· ἐπειγόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου πράξεις, οὔσας οὐκ ὀλίγας οὐδὲ βραχέων τῶν λόγων δεομένας, ἀπολογίαν δὲ πορισάμενος, ὡς διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τούτων περιφανὲς καὶ μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀγνοούμενον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἴη καθ' ἕκαστον διεξιέναι περὶ αὐτῶν, αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ μᾶλλον σεμνύνει. Ἔπειθ' οὕτω τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπαινούμενον λόγων ἁψάμενος, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ὅλου ἤθους διέξεισι καὶ οἷος τοῖς ὅλοις ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τε καὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖ. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνων μέμνηται, ἅ ποτε περί τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τοὺς τότε δεδυστυχηκότας ἐπέπρακτο αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς προσηνέχθη τοῖς τότε πράγμασι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ ἤδη χωρήσας πρώτης μὲν τῆς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀφίξεως μέμνηται, ὡς καὶ προσδοκηθεῖσα μόνον ὤνησε πρὶν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀφῖκτο καὶ ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀσμένων ὑπεδέχθη· οὗ δὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ τε σφῶν θείου καὶ ἀνεψιοῦ ἁψάμενος λόγων εὖ μάλα φυλάττεται τὸ μηδὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπηχὲς καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε μηδὲ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν· ἔπειτα τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν αὐτόθι μετοικίσεως, ὡς δύσκριτόν γε ὂν εἴτε παραδεκτέον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν χώραν εἴτε μή, ὅδ' ἐδέξατό τε, οὐ δοκοῦν οὕτω τοῖς πολλοῖς, αὐτὸς μάλα εὐστόχως βεβουλευμένος περὶ τοῦ συνοίσοντος, καὶ ἐς δέον τούτοις ἐχρήσατο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς τῶν προσοίκων ἐχθρῶν ἥττης καὶ τῆς πρίγκιπος συλλήψεως, δι' ὧν ἐγκρατεστέραν ἀποφαίνει

1. mg. WVa: deest PV | 27. πρίγκιπος PVW: πρίγγιπος Va.

καταστήσαντα τὴν ἀρχήν. Εἶτ' ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὡς τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτομόλους ἥκοντας καὶ πρῶτον κοινῇ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων | f. II ἐπεξελθὼν φειδοῖ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἂν ὀνομαστὶ καθάψασθαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βάρβαρον χωρεῖ καὶ οἷς κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἐπεχείρησεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἡκόντων αὐτομόλων ἐναγόμενος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ οἴκοθεν μετακαλουμένων. Ἔπειτα τῆς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίξεως μέμνηται, τῆς τε τούτου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνάγκῃ τε γεγενημένης καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν οὕτω δὴ συμπεπτωκυίας, τοῦ τε παρὰ ταύτην κινδύνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀπηντηκότων δυσχερῶν· καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν βασιλεὺς γνώμῃ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην αὖ πόλιν παρὰ δόξαν ἀνασῴζεται, ὅδ' ἤδη δοκῶν ἐν ἀφύκτοις ἔχεσθαι μάλα ἀνδρείως τε καὶ εὐμηχάνως ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἀποδιδράσκει, καὶ ὡς ἡ ἐπάνοδος τούτου πάντα ἤδη οὐ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὅσα ἐντὸς Πυλῶν τὰ πλεῖστα κινδυνεύοντα διέσωσε, καὶ ὡς τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνακεχωρηκότος, πέμψαντος δὲ ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ὀλίγην οὐδὲ φαύλην στρατιάν, ὅδ' οὐ πλήθει ἀντιπάλῳ στρατιᾶς, ἐπινοίᾳ δὲ στρατηγίᾳ πρεπούσῃ κεχρημένος κεκωλύκει ταύτην τῆς χώρας ἐπιβῆναι, καὶ ὡς διὰ τοῦτο τοὔργον καὶ τὰ παρακεχωρημένα τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ἤδη ἐχόμενα ἀπειλήφει τε καὶ ἐπανέσωσε τῇ ἀρχῇ. Εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τοῦ βαρβάρου πόλεμον μετεληλυθώς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν μὲν Χριστιανῶν συμφοραῖς, πολλῶν δ' ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐνευτυχηκότος χαλεπῶς ἐντεῦθεν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔσχε, μνησθεὶς καὶ προσέτι τοῦ γε ἑαυτοῦ διὰ ταῦτα ἀπόπλου τε καὶ ἀποδημίας τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἑσπέρια, ἔπειτα τὰ τούτῳ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς πεπραγμένα διέξεισι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς Κόρινθον ἐν προφανεῖ οὖσαν κινδύνῳ Φρερίοις ἐγχειρίσας αὐτήν τε ἔσωσε τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων χειρὸς καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασιν οὐ μικρὰν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν βοήθειαν ἐμηχανήσατο· ἔπειθ' ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης ἀρχῆς τοῖς αὐτοῖς δόξας παραχωρεῖν τὸν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πόλεμον κάλλιον ἢ ὡς ἄν τις προσεδόκησε κατέθετο καὶ τὴν χώραν | ἀπολαβὼν αὖθις κατέστησεν, οὐδὲ Φρερίους οὔτε f. III ἀδικήσας οὔτε τι βλάψας ὅλως. Ἐπὶ πλέον δέ που τούτοις ὁ λόγος ἐνδιατρίβει ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, κρατοῦσαν παρ' ἐνίοις δόξαν ἐξελεῖν, ἄμεινον ὂν ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ τούτων πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καλοῖς ἢ σεσιγηκέναι. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν νῦν σεσιγημένων, εἴ ποτέ τις ἐπὶ διαβολῇ μνησθῆναι τολμήσειε, τάχ' ἄν τισι τῶν τἀληθῆ μὴ εἰδότων καὶ ἐπαληθεύειν δόξειεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σεσιγημένων, εἴ τι ἐνῆν λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν. Εἰρημένα δὲ καὶ φανερὰ καταστάντα ὡς ἐπράχθη καὶ εἰς εὐδοξίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ὡς ἑτέρως ἴσως δοκοῦντος

περιέστηκεν. Εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς παλαιοὺς παραθέσεις χωρεῖ, ἡνίκα καὶ τῆς νόσου μνησθεὶς ἐς τὸ περιπαθέστερον αὖ ἀποκλίνει, ἀποφαίνων ἅμα οὐδὲν ἐλάττω τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀνδρίας τὴν παρὰ τὴν νόσον ἐπιδεδειγμένον. Κἀνταῦθα δούς τι καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν ὑπηκόων φθέγξασθαι προσῆκον ἐκείνοις αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν ἕνεκα ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασι παρ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐπαναλαμβάνει θρῆνον. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ ἅμα μὲν ὡς ἀναπαύλης δεηθεὶς διὰ τὸ τοῦ πάθους μέγεθος ἐπεχόμενος τὴν φωνήν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐπιθυμήσας καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν θρηνούντων ἀκοῦσαι διὰ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν μανικὸν φίλτρον πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἰτιῶν ἕνεκα, ὡς αὐτὸς διέξεισι βασιλεύς· οὗ χάριν καὶ ἀπὸ περιπαθοῦς εὐθὺς ἐνήρξατο προοιμίου, ὡς μὴ τὸ παράπαν δυνηθεὶς τῶν τε διηγήσεων τῶν τε ἐπαίνων ἅψασθαι πρὸ τῶν θρήνων. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παραμυθίαν ὅμως μεταβὰς ἀποπαύεται, ἐπιπλεκομένων ἑκάστῳ χωρίῳ τῶν ἀεὶ προσηκόντων τε καὶ προσαρμοττόντων ἐπαίνων, ὡς μήτε τῷ πιθανῷ ὑπερβάλλειν μήτε ἐλλείπειν τι τῶν ἐνόντων τε καὶ ἅμα δεόντων ῥηθῆναι, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔστι τῷ μετὰ τέχνης ἀναγινώσκοντι θεωρεῖν.

3. ἀνδρίας PVW: ἀνδρείας Va | 15-16. τὸ πιθανὸν PV:—ῷ —ῷ s.s. P: τῷ πιθανῷ WVa.

Τοῦ ἱερομονάχου κυροῦ Ἰωάσαφ

f. IV

Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου

Ὅσα μὲν ὡς ἐν προθεωρίᾳ λόγου τοῦ παρόντος εἰπεῖν ἔδει πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται σοφοῦ, καὶ οὐ δεῖ τούτοις προσθεῖναι· δέον γε μὴν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος. Ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὔτ' ἐπηρμένος οὔτε ταπεινός, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτρον τιμῶν. Αἵ τε γὰρ ἔννοιαι οὐ ταπειναί, αἵ τε λέξεις αὐτῷ οὐ τραχεῖαι, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ταῖς ἐννοίαις κατάλληλοι. Περιουσίᾳ τε δεινότητος τῷ βιαίῳ χρώμενος τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐφέλκεται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπαίνοις. Συντομίας τε φροντίζει μετά γε σαφηνείας τοσοῦτον, ὡς μήτε τὸ σύντομον ἀσαφὲς εἶναι δοκεῖν μήτε τὸ σαφὲς ὕπτιον, ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον συμβαίνει τῶν λόγων τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι. Περίεστι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς κατ' ἔννοιαν λαμπρότητος, καὶ μάλιστα ἔνθα τὰ τῶν Φρερίων διέξεισι καὶ ὅπως οὗτοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐξέστησαν. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτομολησάντων διεξιὼν χαίρει τῇ κατ' ἔννοιαν περιβολῇ, δεινότητι δὲ τῇ κατὰ μέθοδον πλεονάζει διόλου, πυκνοῖς τ' ἐνθυμήμασι κέχρηται καὶ καταλλήλοις ἐργασίαις, γνωμικοῖς τε ἀρίστοις, ἀποστάσεσί τε καὶ ἐπεμβολαῖς καὶ παρισώσεσι. Σύνεστι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σεμνότης διόλου, ταῖς τε τροπικαῖς τῶν λέξεων οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε κέχρηται, πλείονά τε δίδωσι τῶν γεγραμμένων τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐννοεῖν.

---

1. mg. W: τοῦ Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Ἰωάσαφ Va: deest PV.

---

1. See Syropoulos, pp. 122,*25-26*, 123 n. 4, 163-64. See also above p. 41.

f. VI **1.** Τοῦ βασιλέως

῞Ηκω πενθήσων καὶ σὲ μέν, πάντων ἄριστε, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδεδήμηκας — ἡ φύσις γὰρ οὐ δίδωσιν ἀδακρυτὶ τὸν τάφον θεάσασθαι — ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸ σοῦ, οὓς τὸ κράτιστον ὧν εἴχομεν ἀφῄρηκας, σαυτόν. Δέον δὲ ὂν καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κοσμῆσαί σε, τὸ χρέος ἀφοσιώσομαι· τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν οὐδ' ἂν οὐδ' εἰ πᾶς μὲν ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς, πᾶσαι δὲ γλῶσσαι εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς συνῆλθον, συνεισενεγκεῖν ὅλως εἶχον.

2. Τοῦ κυροῦ Ματθαίου τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου

῞Ηκω σέ, πάντ' ἄριστε, πενθήσων ὅμως
εἰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν πάντων ἔβης·
βλέπειν ἄδακρυς οὐ σθένω γὰρ τὸν σὸν τάφον·
ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸ σοῦ, φίλτατέ μοι,
οὓς σαυτὸν εἶλες, τὸ κράτιστον κτημάτων·
ἀλλὰ καὶ κοσμήσων σε ταῖς εὐφημίαις
ὅσον χρέους ἅψασθαι, ὡς οἷόν τέ μοι·
τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν σοι οὐ βροτῶν νόος,
οὐ γλῶσσαι πᾶσαι, εἰ συνῆλθον εἰς ἅμα,
συνεισενεγκεῖν οἶμαι δύναιντ' ἂν ὅλως.

1.1. W: τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουὴλ Va: deest P: *Barber. gr. 74, f. 26* Μανουὴλ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Παλαιολόγου εἰς τὸν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρον.

2.1. WVa: *deest P: Barber. gr. 74, f. 26* Ματθαίου τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου τὰ αὐτὰ δι' ἰάμβων.

2.1. He accompanied Manuel II to Europe. In a Parisian notarial document he is referred as imperial treasurer (S. Lampros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 133). In the affair over Macarius bishop of Angyra he appears as the emperor's spokesman (Laurent, «Le trisépiscopat», pp. 44, 157).

3. Τοῦ κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Μαγίστρου

Ἤλυθον, ἀνδρῶν φέρτατε, πενθήσων, θρηνήσων
καὶ σὲ μέν, εἰ καὶ πὰρ μέγαν ᾤχου περ θεὸν ἤδη·
οὔτοι γὰρ μ᾽ ἐάᾳ φύσις εἰσορόωντα τεὸν τάφον
μὴ κατὰ δάκρυ χέειν· πρό γε μὴν σέο ἡμέας αὐτούς,
οὓς δὴ σαυτὸν ἀφείλεο, ὅσσε, φόος ψυχήν τε,
τῶν θ᾽ ὧν εἴχομεν αὖ πάντων τὸ κάλιστον ἐόντα.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μὴν ὄφλω καί μοι νόος μενεαίνει
κοσμεῖν ἠδ᾽ ὑμνεῖν σε λόγοισί τε ἠδ᾽ ἐπέεσσι,
τίσω δὴ καὶ τόδ᾽ ὅσον μοι σθένος, οὐχ ὅσσον δέον·
εἰ γὰρ καὶ μερόπων γε πρόπας νόος ἠδὲ καὶ πᾶσαι
γλῶσσ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄγερθεν ἀολλέες, οὐκ ἄν γε σχεῖν
οὐδ᾽ οὕτω σε, ὄχ᾽ ἄριστε, ὀΐομαι ἄξια τῖσαι.

3.1. WVa: deest P | 7. κάλιστον PVa (metri causa cogit L): **κάλλιστον** W.

Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος

The Funeral Oration of the most devout and Christ-loving
Emperor sire Manuel Palaeologus
in memory of his brother the Porphyrogenitus
sire Theodore Palaeologus the Despot.
It was delivered when the Emperor visited the Peloponnese[1].

What should I say to you who are present here when I myself have no strength to speak, nor do I see you capable of listening attentively to my words? This tremendous calamity has left me speechless and I know that you, who have received benefits at the hands of this greatly mourned man, are similarly affected. But since you would never forgive me should I remain silent, as you hope to hear from me some words that might perhaps be appropriate to the present misfortune, I shall speak to the best of my ability. To judge by certain signs I feel that you are somewhat displeased at my not having delivered this memorial oration sooner. It is clear to all that to some extent you reproach me for having delayed my speech, not indeed by your words, for the deep pain in your hearts forbids this, but I perceive it from the intense manner in which you regard me, by your tears, laments and all the other signs of mourning.

It would not indeed have been unreasonable had you actually demanded that I should speak and had I complied to your request. It is however right that I should meet such a request before it is made, or rather that I should pay the tribute due before it is demanded. Indeed, I should have paid my debt earlier had I been able to do so. Yet it would not have been easy for me to do this, stricken as I am by the pain of this great misfortune. The moment I disembarked here and saw this countryside once trod by him, especially in hunt or in warfare, my tears welled up like a spring, my voice failed me and I could not speak. This very place which he continuously served not only reminds me of

1. See above, Introduction, section III, P. 29 ff.

P.f.1 Τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως
κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου
λόγος ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τόν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ
δεσπότην πορφυρογέννητον κῦριν Θεόδωρον τὸν Παλαιολόγον
ῥηθεὶς ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοῦ βασιλέως.

Ἀλλὰ τί καὶ φθέγξωμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παρόντες, μήτ᾽ αὐτὸς λέγειν ἰσχύων μήθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν δυναμένους καθαρὰν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς λόγοις; Ἐμέ τε γὰρ ἀφωνία κατέσχεν ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ταυτησὶ συμφορᾶς ὑμᾶς τε τοῦτ᾽ οἶδα παθόντας, οὓς ὁ νῦν θρηνούμενος διαγέγονεν εὖ ποιῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντως οὐ συγχωρήσετε σιωπᾶν ἐλπίζοντές τι ῥηθήσεσθαι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὅπερ ἂν ἴσως συμβαίη τῇ παρούσῃ συμφορᾷ, ἐροῦμεν ὡς ἐφικτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτό γε τεκμαιρόμεθα ὡς ἀμηγέπη χαλεπαίνετε τῷ μὴ καὶ θᾶττον εἰρῆσθαι γιγνόμενόν τι. Δῆλοι γάρ ἐστε τοῖς ὅλοις τὴν τοῦ λόγου μέλλησιν μονονουχὶ διαβάλλοντες τῇ γλώττῃ μὲν οὐδαμῶς (οὐ γὰρ συγχωρεῖ τὸ πάθος ἐνακμάζον ταῖς ψυχαῖς), τῷ δὲ ἀτενὲς εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁρᾶν καὶ τοῖς κοπετοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπαίτησις εὐλόγως ἂν καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν γένοιτο καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τέλος λάβοι· δικαία γὰρ δοθῆναι πρὶν αἰτηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποδοθῆναι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ταύτην ἀπαιτηθῆναι. Καὶ ἔγωγε τὴν πρώτην ἂν ἀποδεδώκειν τὸ χρέος, εἰ οἷός τ᾽ ἦν ἀποδοῦναι, οὐκ εὐχερῶς δ᾽ ἂν δυνηθείην τῷ τῆς μεγίστης ταυτησὶ συμφορᾶς βεβλημένος πάθει. Ἀφ᾽ ἧς γὰρ καταγόμενος ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶδόν τι μέρος τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἥν ποτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος πεπάτηκε θηρῶν πάντως ἢ στρατηγῶν, τὸ μὲν δάκρυον προχεῖται κρουνηδόν, ἀφωνία δὲ κατέχει καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ φθέγγεσθαι. Αὐτὸς γὰρ οὗτος ὁ χῶρος, ὃν ἐκεῖνος εὖ

2. κυροῦ PVe V: om. Va W | 5. ῥηθεὶς — βασιλέως inser. P: VW Va: deest in Ve | 8-10. ἐμὲ — ποιῶν mg. Ve | 14. ὅλοις PVWVa: λόγοις Ve | 21. χρέος in ras. PV: s.s. Ve (cancell. ὄφλημα): χρέος WVa | 22. δυνηθείην in ras. PV: WVa: δυναίμην Ve | 24. θηρῶν in ras. P: VWVa: θηρεύων Ve | 25. προχεῖται in ras. P: προὐχεῖτο VWVeVa | κατέχει in ras. P: VWVa: κατέσχε Ve | 26 ἐᾷ in ras. P: VWVa: εἴα Ve.

the person whom we have lost but it also makes it impossible for me to remain unmoved. Gentlemen, I ask you to forgive me, for his loss has left me half-dead and I have scarcely the strength to accomplish what you would welcome. You too are laid low by the grief of this blow and are unable to speak, and will therefore be all the more ready to bear with me. Although I am trying to repay my debt I find that I am achieving nothing. And indeed I feel entirely discomposed, for such is the mortal blow which I have received from a pointed and cruel arrow, and, as Homer says, this becomes still more piercing and deadly as time goes on[2].

From the moment when the man we mourn was snatched away from this world that he might receive the reward of the virtue by which he lived and died, I was cleft in two and can hardly breathe, for this misfortune strangles me and I am totally unable to fulfil the customary obligation nor can I ever really hope to do so again[3]. For how can the mind create when it is stunned by such an evil blow? And what can the tongue say when it is numbed by so great a misfortune? And indeed my present task deserves greater powers of oratory than I posses, since the pre-
task deserves greater powers of oratory than I possess, since the pre-eminence of the man I am lauding transcends all panegyric. Therefore he who attempts to pronounce the funeral oration and to praise his virtue must excel in the skilful use of words and in strength of judgment. Moreover the fact that I stand amidst wailing and tears, my own and those of all of you, irresistibly distracts my mind as I lament my brother, my friend, my pupil, my son, albeit that he often showed qualities of a father and a teacher even though he was the younger[4]. In such circumstances who would not be filled with confusion, whose mind would not become dulled, even though the orator about to speak were a man renowned in antiquity for his powerful eloquence? How then can I treat this funeral oration as I would wish? I know that you who mourn will not allow me to move even one step away from this tomb, even should I wish to do so, before I have honoured my brother with an oration, that brother whose deeds have shown him to be so

2. Homer, *Iliad* 1, 51.
3. Cf. the emperor's letter to Chrysoloras, 56, *4-12*.
4. Cf. Manuel's letter to Triboles, 9, *30-31*.

ποιῶν διατετελέκει, μονονού μοι τὴν μορφὴν ὑποφαίνων τοῦ νῦν ἀμόρφου, οὐδ᾽ ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι καθαρῶς ἐᾷ μένειν. Καὶ δότε μοι συγγνώμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡμιθνῆτι γενομένῳ τῇ τοῦ οἰχομένου στερήσει f.1v καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἰσχύοντι τὸ ὑμῖν κε|χαρισμένον διαπράξασθαι. Δίκαιοι δ᾽ ἂν εἴητε συγγινώσκειν, οἵ γε μηδ᾽ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ παράπαν δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι, τῇ πληγῇ καὶ ταῖς ὀδύναις τοῦ πάθους βαλλόμενοι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρέος ἀποτιννύναι πειρῶμαι, εὑρίσκομαι δὲ μηδὲν ἀνύων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὢν ἐμαυτοῦ τυγχάνω καιρίαν ταύτην δεξάμενος βέλει πικρῷ τε καὶ ἀπηνεῖ, ὃ δὴ νῦν ἐχεπευκὲς πολλῷ ἂν μᾶλλον σὺν τῷ καιρῷ ἢ τὸ πρὶν εἶπεν Ὅμηρος.

Ἔγωγε δίχα τμηθεὶς ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὁ νῦν θρηνούμενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, ληψόμενος γέρα τῆς ἀρετῆς, ᾗ καὶ συμβεβίωκε καὶ συναπελήλυθε, μόγις ἀναπνεῖν ἰσχύω· ἄγχει γὰρ ἡ συμφορά· χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν οὔπω καλῶς δύναμαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐλπὶς βεβαία εἰ δυνήσομαί ποτε. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν τέκοι διάνοια τηλικῷδε κακῷ πηρωθεῖσα; τί δ᾽ ἂν καὶ φθέγξαιτο γλῶττα κακῷ τοσῷδε ναρκῶσα; Χωρὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ δεῖσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν τὸ παρὸν ἐγχείρημα (τῷ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὑπερκεῖσθαι παντὸς ἐπαίνου τὸν εὐφημούμενον, καὶ δεῖν εἶναι καθάπαξ τοὺς μονῳδήσοντάς τε καὶ ἐπαινέσοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροὺς σοφίᾳ λόγων, ἰσχυροτέρους τὴν φρόνησιν), αὐτὸ τὸ μέσαις ὀλολυγαῖς ἑστάναι καὶ δάκρυσι μὲν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, δάκρυσι δὲ τοῖς τῶν πάντων δεινῶς μοι παρασύρεσθαι τὸν νοῦν, θρηνοῦντι μὲν ἀδελφόν, θρηνοῦντι δὲ φίλον, θρηνοῦντι δὲ μαθητήν, θρηνοῦντι δὲ παῖδα (εἰ καὶ κατά τινας καιροὺς τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐδείκνυ καὶ διδασκάλων καίτοι νεώτερος ὤν), τίν᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσειε ταραχῆς καὶ ἀμβλυτέραν ἐργάσαιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, εἰ δή τις ἦν ὁ λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῶν πάλαι ὑμνουμένων εἰς λόγων δύναμιν; πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔχοιμι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις, ὡς ἂν βουλοίμην; Οἶμαι δ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὦ πενθοῦντες, μηδὲ ἐπιτρέψειν ὅλως βαδίζειν εἴ γε ἦν ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ μεταβῆναι μικρὸν τοῦ τάφου πρὶν ἢ τιμῆσαι μοι λόγῳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἅτε δὴ λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων

8-9. Homerus, *Ilias* 1.51.

| 3. ἡμιθνῆτι PVWVa: ἡμιθανεῖ Ve. | 8. ὢν ἐμαυτῷ τυγχάνω in ras. P: VWVa: ἐν τῇ ταὐτότητι μένω Ve | 17. παρὸν ἐγχείρημα in ras. PV: WVa: νῦν ἐπιχείρημα Ve | 19-20. μονῳδήσαντος τε καὶ ἐπαινέσοντας in ras. P:VWVa: ἐπαινέσοντας τε καὶ μονῳδήσοντας Ve | 23 παρασύρεσθαι PVWVe: παρασείρεσθαι Va | 25. τῶν πατέρων in ras. P: VWVa: τοῦ πατρὸς Ve. | διδασκάλων p. ras. P: VWVa: διδασκάλου Ve.

illustrious. Justice does indeed constrain and compel you to insist on the delivery of my speech and I shall therefore follow the right course and speak and mourn with my panegyric the man who has left both you and me deeply mourning and unceasingly grieving. Even so I am all too aware that I may not entirely satisfy you.

The established practice of panegyrics lays down that before honouring the dead with praise, his country and parents should also be acclaimed, especially when they are indeed men of significant virtue and great fame[5]. I believe that most of you would think it proper that this most excellent and noble custom should indeed be followed, particularly on this occasion. The custom of mentioning the family and country of notable and illustrious men would certainly be most fitting, even though such men, admirable as they may be, have not reached the topmost summit of fame. But when indeed the family and the country take premier place in their illustrious splendour so that the whole world is ever mindful of their virtue and excellence, then there is no question but that this custom should be observed. For universal excellence is surely worthy of our admiration. Time too acts in support of this, for though it consigns all to oblivion yet in such a case it interrupts its normal course. It is not easy to speak of men who by their constant renown and upright behaviour, by the integrity of their character and the splendour of their victories have achieved so great an excellence. This fact too has been observed by all and those who have it in mind pay tribute to it. Thus all inevitably combines to support this time-honoured custom. So be it.

Now I desire to say something which will perhaps seem harsh to some, though I think that it will nevertheless be shown to be true. Doubtless the practice is necessary even though it may not be absolutely so in every case. When all are mindful of the accumulation of blessings, when the admiration of those astonished at such achievements is roused, it is unnecessary to follow the usual practice, just as in other cases it seems necessary. Rightly so. Why then? For I think the practice has been established so that those who descend from a good root planted in good earth are regarded as worthy by all even

---

5. Cf. Menander, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, ed. L. Spengel, *Rhaetores graeci* III, Leipzig 1856, pp. 369-72, 420.

f.2 φανέντα. Συνέχει γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ συν|ωθεῖ ἅπαν δίκαιον, ὥστ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔψομαι τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ ἐρῶ τι καὶ πενθήσω μετ᾽ ἐγκωμίων τὸν ἐμέ τε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἀλήκτῳ πένθει καταλιπόντα, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντως οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσαιμι· πολλοῖς τοῦτο τεκμαίρομαι.

Προτρέπει μὲν οὖν ὁ νόμος τῶν ἐγκωμίων, πρὸ τοῦ κοσμεῖν τοὺς προκειμένους εἰς εὐφημίαν, τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην αὐτοὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς γονέας πᾶσι δηλοῦν, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅταν τύχωσιν οὗτοι καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐ σμικρᾶς καὶ δόξης οὐ μετρίας μετεσχηκότες. Οἶμαι δὲ τοὺς πλείους δοξάζειν, ὡς μᾶλλόν γε ἐνταῦθα χρῆσθαι προσήκει τῷ πάντ᾽ ἀρίστῳ καὶ καλῷ τῷδε νόμῳ ἤπερ ὁπουδήποτε. Εἰ γὰρ ἵνα τὸ γένος καὶ ἡ πατρὶς τῶν ἐπισήμων μὲν καὶ περιφανῶν, οὐ μὴν δ᾽ εἰς τοὔσχατον δόξης ἐληλακότων καὶ τὸ μηδένα λεληθέναι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς, ἀγαθός γε πάντως ὁ νόμος, ἵνα τοσαύτη περιουσία λαμπρότητος, ὡς μηδέσι τῶν πρωτείων παραχωρεῖν, μηδὲ λεληθέναι πλεονεκτήματα καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, μάλιστα πάντων ὁ νόμος οὗτος οὐ περιοπτέος δόξειεν ἄν. Τὸ γὰρ ὑπερέχον τούτων ἐν ἅπασι πάντων ἕνεκα ἤ πού γε θαύματος ἄξιον· καὶ τοῦτό γε συνίστησιν ὁ πάντα λήθῃ παραδιδοὺς χρόνος, ἀτονήσας ἐνταυθοῖ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ δρᾶσαι. Καὶ γὰρ τοσούτῳ μέγα ὑπερηκόντισαν συχνῇ περιφανείᾳ καὶ κοσμιότητι καὶ τῇ τῶν τρόπων χρηστότητι καὶ τῇ τῶν τροπαίων λαμπρότητι ὅσῳ μηδὲ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι δεῖξαι. Καὶ τοῦτο λέληθε μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὁντινοῦν τῶν ἁπάντων· παρέχει δὲ πάντας θαυμάζειν οὕς γε οὐ λέληθεν· ἔνθα δὴ ταῦτα συνέδραμεν, ὁ νόμος ἀναγκαιότατος. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

Ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν βίαιον μέν τισιν ἴσως δόξον, ἀληθὲς δ᾽ οὖν, οἶμαι, φανησόμενον. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀναγκαῖος ὡς ἀληθῶς, οὐ μὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντων οὕτως ἁπλῶς. Ἵνα γὰρ συνέδραμε τοσοῦτος μὲν σωρὸς ἀγαθῶν καὶ μηδένα λέληθε τῶν ἁπάντων, παρέχει δὲ πᾶσι f.2v θαυ|μάζειν ἐκπληττομένοις τὰ κατορθώματα, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖος ὁ νόμος οὗτος αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ, ᾧ γε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖος εἶναι δοκεῖ· δικαίως. Διατί; Ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἶμαι τετάχθαι ὅπως οἱ ῥίζης ἀγαθῆς ἐν ἀγαθῷ πεφυτευμένης χωρίῳ ἀγαθοὶ πᾶσι δειχθῶσι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν

6 ss. cf. Menandrum (Rhaetor), pp. 369-72, 420.

1. ὑμᾶς PVW: ἡμᾶς VeVa | 15. πρωτείων PWVeVa: προτείων V | 26. δ᾽ PVW-Va: δὲ Ve.

before they distinguish themselves in life and have been praised by all. For the quality of the fruit depends on the quality of the plant and of the earth in which it is planted. Well then, in this case I consider the usual custom redundant and superfluous, for what this would have established has already been done. For who needs to learn from another that the fatherland of this man and indeed of all his ancestors was that greatest of cities — I speak of Constantinople? Who can think of this city or of his parents without giving great praise to both? But in admiring country and parents it is impossible not at the same time to admire the man who sprang from them[6]. Since then this is the case and all are mindful of the background and ancestry of the man who is now being praised, it would perhaps be superfluous to try to expatiate on what is so clear and obvious to all. To attempt to explain that Constantinople was his birthplace and that his parents were its rulers and that both country and parents had blessed him, would, I think, be like trying to explain at noontide in the warming sunshine that the sun was high in the heavens.

Moreover even if on this occasion the convention established by the ancient panegyrists, albeit an excellent one, were transgressed, I think that this would not incur the censure of those who laid down this custom were they with us, or of any other reasonable men. For neither his fatherland nor his parents are in need of each other's
nor indeed does he necessarily need theirs, even though they have in fact honoured each other just as lights increase in strength in each other's illumination and lustre. Therefore I was right when I said that this excellent convention was perhaps unnecessary in this particular case. Moreover the man whom we are now praising had early been distinguished by his innate virtue and his own achievements rather than by the great glory of his country and his parents. But by their virtue his

6. Ibid., pp. 3, 148-150.

βίον αὐτοῖς φανῆναι καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐπαινεθῆναι. Ὁποῖον γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πεφύτευται, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτὸ φέρειν. Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν παρέλκον οἶμαι τοῦτο καὶ περιττόν· ὃ γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ σκοπὸς ὥσπερ αὐτόματον φθάσαν γέγονε. Τίς γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς εἴη μὲν ἡ μεγίστη πόλις, τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φημί, πατρὶς ἐκείνῳ τ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ γένει τῷ 'κείνου, ὥστε καὶ δεῖσθαι παρ' ἑτέρου τοῦτο μανθάνειν; Τίς δὲ ταύτης ἔχει μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν φυσάντων ἄνευ ἐγκωμίων μεγίστων; Θαυμάζων δέ τις τήν τε πατρίδα, τούς τε γονέας, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τόν ἐκ τῶνδε τούτοις συνεθαύμασεν ἄν; Ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτω καὶ οὐδένα λέληθε τὰ κατὰ τὸν νῦν εὐφημούμενον, μήποτε περίεργον ᾖ κατασκευάζειν λίαν σαφὲς καὶ δεικνύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸ μηδενὶ κρυπτόμενον. Ὁ γὰρ διδάσκειν, οἶμαι, βουλόμενος ὡς ἡ Κωνσταντίνου τῷδε πατρὶς καὶ γονεῖς οἱ ταύτης κοσμήτορες καὶ ἀγαθή γε τούτῳ καὶ ἡ πατρὶς καὶ οἱ φύσαντες, παραπλήσιον ἂν εἴη ποιῶν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διδάσκειν ἐβούλετο πληθούσης τε ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἅπαντας θερμαινούσης ὑπὲρ γῆν τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇδε παραδραμών τις ἐνταῦθα τουτονὶ τὸν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεθέντα νόμον, ἄριστον ὄντα, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν θεμένων, οἶμαι, τὸν νόμον, εἰ ἔτι μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦσαν, οὔτε παρ' οὑτινοσοῦν εὖ φρονοῦντος δέξαιτ' ἄν ποτε μέμψιν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πατρὶς αὐτῷ οὔθ' οἱ γονεῖς ἐπιδεεῖς τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων τιμῆς, παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναγκαίως, εἰ καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων ὅμως τετίμηνται, f.3 καθάπερ φῶτα συναύξοντα τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀστραπήν τε | καὶ λαμπηδόνα. Καλῶς ἄρα εἶπον, ὡς ὁ νόμος ἀγαθός, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἴσως οὐκ ἀναγκαῖος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοὺς ἐπαίνους δεχόμενος παρ' ἡμῶν ἤδη ἐκ τῆς προσούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἰδίων κατορθωμάτων μᾶλλον λαμπρύνεται ἢ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φυσάντων καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἄγαν λαμπρότητος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ αὕτη καὶ οἱ γονεῖς, γνώριμον

1-3. cf. Platonem, *Menexenus* 237a; *Theaetetus* 149e; Libanium, *Oratio* 59,10-11.

1-3. γνωμικὸν mg. PWVa: om. VVe | 2. Τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πεφύτευται in ras. PV: WVa: ἐν οἵῳ τῷ χωρίῳ πεφυτευμένον Ve | 8. ἔχει μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν φυσάντων PWVeVa: ex. s.s. αβγ ἔχει καὶ τῶν φυσάντων μνησθῆναι V | 12. δεικνύειν in ras. P: VWVa: φανεροῦν Ve | 14. ἀγαθὴ in ras. P: VWVa: ἀγαθοὶ Ve | 15. παραπλήσιον in ras. P: VWVa: παρόμοιον Ve. | 20. ἦσαν in ras. P: VWVa: ex εἴησαν Ve | 21. μέμψιν in ras. P: VWVa: σκῶμμα Ve | 22. ἐπιδεεῖς in ras. P: VWVa: ἐνδεεῖς Ve | 26. δεχόμενος in ras. P: VWVa: δεξόμενος Ve.

country and his parents made him better known to all, even though he was already known and distinguished, and so in the terms of our metaphor added glory to his name. But through him they too and their country are known to all mankind far better than before. For, as happens, men who are truly noble shed lustre on their country and parents. Thus all who know him, know too his parents and country. Even so, due credit must be accorded to the roots. For a particular country or parents may become more illustrious by producing a noble son, yet this merit reverts to them as to its home, and thus the wheel has come full circle. So much for this. But rather than seem to ignore customary practice, let us turn to this and discharge our commitment as swiftly as possible.

His country was the queen of cities and the all-sufficient metropolis and has no need of our praise to extol her fame. For she excels in beauty all other admired cities and outdoes and surpasses them in every pre-

nations and earthly kings, subduing them not so much by armies and sword as by virtue and reason, and this was because Constantine held the sceptre in his hands — an emperor who was in truth both a leader and a dispenser of blessings to all[7]. And what is more important than anything, he was especially loved by God for his pure devotion and virtue, so that with divine help and aid he became the founder of this city[8]. This being so, it suffices for us to say this much, instead of offering a thousand eulogies and praises to prove the infinite virtue of this city. For since the founder is a man of this kind, eager in his desire to build a city, inspired by God (for it was God who so moved him and it was only with the help of God that he achieved all this), it would indeed be superfluous to try and eulogise the city in any other way, even though it provides unending opportunity for praise.

Concerning his parents and his lineage I shall say little, nor will I speak of their shining victories and achievements which put in the

7. Constantine the Great (324-37), founder of Constantinople.
8. In 330.

ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐκ τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν γνωριμώτερον τὸν ἄνδρα πᾶσιν ἀπέφηναν τῇ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῇ, καὶ προσθήκη τούτῳ δόξης ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν ἤδη ῥηθεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἡ πατρὶς πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον γνωρίζονται δι᾽ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς ἀνθρώποις ἢ τὸν προτοῦ πάντα χρόνον. Ὅσοις μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἡ πατρὶς καὶ οἱ φύσαντες (οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρίστων φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν), πᾶσι δὲ αὖ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡ πατρὶς καὶ οἱ φύσαντες. Πλὴν τὰ πάντα λογιστέον τῇ ῥίζῃ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ λαμπροτέρα καθίσταταί τις πατρὶς ἢ πατέρες γενναῖον ἀγαγόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξελθὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνατρέχει οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, φασίν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ βαδίζον. Τοσαῦτά γε ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων· ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν ἀπειθεῖν τῷ νόμῳ, ἀφοσιωσάμενοι ταχέως ἀπαλλαξόμεθα.

Πατρὶς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις τε καὶ μητρόπολις, ἥτις αὐτάρκης ἑαυτῇ καὶ οὐ δεῖταί γε τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπαίνων εἰς εὐδοξίαν. Τοσούτῳ γὰρ καλλίων ἐστὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων πόλεων ἁπασῶν καὶ προὔχει τούτων καὶ ὑπερβέβηκε πρὸς πᾶν ἀσύγκριτον ἀγαθόν, ὅσῳ καὶ τερμάτων ἦρχεν ἑξῆς ἁπάντων καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλέων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, οὐ τοσοῦτόν γε πολυχειρίᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ νικῶσα, ὅσον ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ Κωνσταντῖνον εἶναι τὸν ταῖν χεροῖν τὰ σκῆπτρα κατέχοντα, βασιλέα τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντα καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ταμίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅπασι, καὶ τὸ πάντων κάλλιστον, τῷ θεῷ διαφερόντως πεφιλημένον καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα πάσης, ὅς γε δομήτωρ ταύτης ἐγένετο | f.3v οὐκ ἄνευ θείας κινήσεως καὶ ῥοπῆς. Καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ ἀντὶ μυρίων μὲν ἐγκωμίων, μυρίων δὲ ἐπαίνων, μυρίαν ἀρετὴν ἀποδεικνύντων τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσαν. Ὅπου γὰρ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ δειμάμενος, ἡ δὲ ὁρμὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας θεόθεν αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ γέγονε (θεόληπτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ, καὶ πάντα τούτῳ σὺν θεῷ διεπράττετο) περίεργον ἂν εἴη σαφῶς κοσμεῖν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ, εἰ καὶ παρέχει μυρίας τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων.

Γονέας δ᾽ αὖ καὶ τὴν σειρὰν ὅθεν τὸ γένος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂν σὺν τῷ καιρῷ καταλέγοιμι, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τρόπαια τὰ ᾽κείνων καὶ κατορθώμα-

---

10. Pindarus, *Olymp.* 6,99; 7,4.

---

1. αὐτὸν PVWVa: ἑαυτὸν Ve | 21-22. πάντων κάλλιστον PVWVe: ex. s.s. α´β´Va | 25. ἀποδεικνύντων in ras. P: VWVa: ἀποδεικνῦναι Ve | 28. περίεργον ἂν εἴη σαφῶς in ras. P: VWVa: παρέλκον ἂν εἴη καὶ μάταιον Ve.

shade those of ancient times. For to pursue this would be to attempt the unattainable. I think it suffices to say this much: those who gave birth to the man whom we now laud were not in any way lesser men, bur rather, as all would agree, better than those who have ever before been praised. By very origin they were emperors, descending in unbroken line from noble emperors, illustrious men of fine integrity, desiring to live not for show but rather putting into practice their high principles, guiding the empire, serving the country and acting as the wisest of rulers for the benefit of their subjects. They may have seemed more splendid by reason of their rank and their purple, but they too in turn embellished these symbols of power, both by their physical beauty and by the uprightness of their minds. They would indeed have been ashamed to adorn what is merely superficial and transient rather than the enduring qualities of the spirit. Relying on divine aid which they rightly preferred to all else, they ruled lawfully and devoutly, more like fathers than masters, preserving the country for their subjects and choosing to bear the brunt of the battle themselves rather than to fail in their duty. So I will stop speaking about their achievements since the matter in hand is not to eulogise these men from whom he descended but to praise this very one who lies before us and it is fitting that we should show how his own achievements mark him out as excelling in virtue.

He was brought up as befitted a royal offspring and from an early age he showed his innate goodness, or rather when only a child he was such that all foretold what sort of a man he would become when he grew up, namely, that he would excel in serving his country, parents, friends, in short that he would impart his innate goodness to all those who came into contact with him. Besides he had such an aptness for learning and progressed so quickly that he greatly surpassed the zeal of professors of rhetoric, physical instructors and whoever taught him the other useful pursuits. For this reason he constantly changed them, looking for those who could teach him something new, and then receiving from each whatever they could offer. And he clearly seemed older than his years, particularly in so far as his intellectual capacity was concerned. Thus, what one of the poets taught -namely that it is language that distinguishes one man from another, as

τα ἀμαυροῦντα τὰ τῶν πάλαι τῇ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἀστραπῇ· εἶεν γὰρ ἂν ἀνεφίκτοις ἐπιχειροῦντες οἱ τοῦτο διώκοντες. Δοκῶ δέ μοι ἀρκεῖν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν· οἱ τὸν νῦν εὐφημούμενον φύσαντες οὐδαμῶς που πάντως ἐλάττους, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀμείνους φαῖεν ἂν πάντες, οἶμαι, τῶν διὰ παντὸς ὑμνουμένων τοῦ χρόνου· ἄνωθεν μὲν βασιλεῖς ἐκ βασιλέων ἀρίστων συνεχεῖ διαδοχῇ κατιόντες, κόσμιοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ οὐ διὰ τὸ σχῆμα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ λόγῳ ζῆν ἐθέλειν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνειν καὶ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τῶν χρηστοτέρων πάντων πρυτάνεις εἶναι τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τούτους καὶ ἡ πορφύρα λαμπροτέρους ἀπέφαινον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοί πως αὖθις ἀπέφαινον ἐκεῖνα λαμπρότερα οὐ μόνον ὥρᾳ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς κοσμιότητι. Ἠσχύνοντο γὰρ εἰ μόνον γε τοῖς ἔξωθεν καλλωπίζοιντο καὶ προσκαίροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον τοῖς οἴκοθεν καὶ μονιμωτέροις. Τῆς οὖν θείας ἀρετῆς, εὖ ποιοῦντες, μηδὲν ἀεὶ προτιμῶντες ἦρχον ἐννόμως καὶ εὐσεβῶς, πατέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δεσποτῶν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις σῴζοντες τόπον καὶ προκινδυνεύειν αὐτῶν αἱρούμενοι ἢ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἕτεροι. Ἐῶ δὴ λέγειν τὰ περὶ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ γὰρ προκείμενον ἦν ἡμῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐγκωμιάζειν, αὐτὸν δὲ
f.4 τοῦτον τὸν | νῦν ἡμῖν εἰς εὐφημίαν προκείμενον, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἡλίκος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικτέον ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

Ἐτράφη μὲν βασιλικῶς, ἐκ παίδων δὲ ἐδείκνυ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, μᾶλλον δὲ παιδίον ὢν πᾶσιν ἐδίδου μαντεύεσθαι ὅστις ἂν εἴη προϊών, ὡς ἄρα πάντη βέλτιστος πατρίδι καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ φίλοις καὶ ὅλως οἷς συγγένοιτ' ἂν καὶ μεταδοίη τῆς ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος. Καὶ μὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν μάθησιν οὕτω δεξιῶς εἶχε καὶ μετ' ὀξύτητος ἔτρεχεν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τῶν παιδοτριβῶν καὶ τῶν ὁτιοῦν χρηστὸν ἐπιτήδευμα διδασκόντων ὑπερφυῶς ὑπερήλαυνεν. Ὅθεν τούτους συνεχῶς διαμείβων ἐζήτει τὸν διδάξοντά τι καινότερον, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶν λαμβάνων ὅπερ ἂν εἶχον διδόναι. Καὶ ἦν τὰς ἡλικίας σαφῶς ἐλέγχων, ὕλην οὐ τὸν χρόνον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τήνδε μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἐκεῖνον, ὥσθ' ὅπερ τις τῶν ποιητῶν ἐδίδαξε τῇ γλώττῃ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου διαφέρειν τοσοῦτον ὅσον

31. ss. locum non inveni.

1. | τὰ om. W | εἶεν in ras. P: VWVa: εἴη Ve | 2. ἐπιχειροῦντες — διώκοντες in ras. P: VWVa: ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς — διώκοντας Ve | δέ μοι in ras. P: VWVa: μοι δὲ Ve.| 7. τὸ (ex τῷ) P: WVa: τῷ VVe | 22. παιδίον ὢν in ras. P: VWVa: ἅμα τῷ φῦναι Ve.

much as eagles are distinguished from crows – he proved by his deeds, and so greatly excelled his contemporaries, that he gave them no cause for dispute in their emulation. For while he was still a child he practised the things that boys do, and when he was a boy he behaved like an adolescent and similarly when he grew up, in short, always doing the things appropriate to a more mature age than he had yet attained. Thus his experience, zeal and perceptiveness led him to be the first always to do what was right. He was dear to his parents, his brothers, his friends, yes, to citizens and foreigners, to his contemporaries and elders, in short, to everyone at all times and in all ways.

Moreover he so excelled in athletics and contests and every other activity of this kind that it was useless to challenge him. Although he was so outstanding yet he was not resented as one might have thought, for envy was powerless to act against him, on the contrary all gave him the greatest admiration, such as I suppose is given to the highest form of victory. But how can one aver that a man who has so far outstripped all others rouses no resentment at all from anyone? One can indeed, for the man who has so completely surpassed all is not exposed to envy. For he who is much admired must be greatly loved and how can he who is greatly loved be envied since he is so highly esteemed? Thus the vanquished owed him no grudge but rather esteemed him all the more, as indeed befitted his unusual qualities, and indeed everybody rejoiced in his successes.

Although he was the last of the brothers he was second to none in those qualities which usually evoke admiration[9]. For he was wise, righteous, courageous, unswerving even in the most terrifying situations

---

9. See above, Introduction, section II, p. 15

αἰετοὶ κοράκων, αὐτὸς ἔργῳ ἔδειξε τῷ πεφυκότι τοὺς ἡλικιώτας παρενεγκὼν ὅσον οὐδ᾽ ἐδίδου τούτοις ἐρίζειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἁμιλλωμένοις. Παῖς γὰρ ὢν ἔτι τὰ τῶν μειρακίων ἐξήσκει, καὶ αὖ ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ νεανίσκων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ὅλως τὰ τῆς κρείττονος ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων φθάνων ἦν αἰεὶ τὸ δέον ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ φρενῶν ὀξύτητι. Ἦν μὲν γονεῦσιν ἡδύς, ἦν δὲ ἀδελφοῖς, ἦν δ᾽ ἑταίροις, ἦν δὲ πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, ἥλιξί τε καὶ πρεσβύταις καὶ ὅλως πᾶσιν ἐν ὅλοις, παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ συμπτώματι.

Καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτον ὑπερνικῶν ἦν κἂν τοῖς γυμνασίοις κἂν ταῖς ἁμίλλαις κἂν ἅπασιν, ὡς μηδὲ δεῖσθαι παραβεβλῆσθαι. Οὔκουν γ᾽ ἐφθονεῖτο τοιοῦτος ὤν, ἀδυνατοῦντος τοῦ φθόνου δρᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, ὅπερ ἐπεφύκει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ τῶν ἁπάντων μετὰ τοσαύτης f.4v ὑπερβολῆς, | ὁπόσης, οἶμαι, τὸ νικῶν ἦν· ἦν δ᾽ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἀφιγμένον. Καὶ πῶς εἰκὸς ἂν εἴποι τις τὸν πολὺ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερελάσαντα μὴ παρ᾽ οὑτινοσοῦν τῶν ἁπάντων δέξασθαι φθόνον; Τοὐναντίον μὲν οὖν, ὁ γὰρ ὑπερβεβηκὼς κομιδῇ φθόνῳ οὐχ᾽ ὑποπίπτει. Τὸ γὰρ πολὺ θαυμαζόμενον πολὺ φιλεῖσθαι δέον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ σφόδρα φιλητόν, πῶς ἂν εὐδοκιμοῦν φθονηθείη; Ὥσθ᾽ ὁ φθόνος μὲν ἀπῆν, ὁπότε γέ τις ἡττῷτο, προσῆν δὲ φίλτρου προσθήκη τῷ περὶ ἐκεῖνον συμβαίνουσα θαύματι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου πλεονεκτήμασι πάντες ἔχαιρον.

Ὢν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὕστατος πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐδενὸς ἦν ὕστερος ἐφ᾽ οἷς τις ἂν φιλοῖτο θαυμαζόμενος. Νουνεχής τε γὰρ ἦν, δίκαιος, ἀνδρεῖος, ἀκλινὴς κἂν τοῖς μάλιστα φοβεροῖς, τῶν πλειόνων

2-3. ἁμιλλωμένοις in ras. P: VWVa: ἁμιλλωμένους Ve | ἔτι om. V | 10. τοῖς γυμνασίοις in ras. P: VWVa: ταῖς γυμνασί*αις* canc. et s.s. *οις* Ve | 12. αὐτὸν in textu PVW: ῷ s.s. P: VeVa: ων s.s. (lapsus) W | 18. ὑποπίπτει in ras. P: VWVa: ἁλίσκεται Ve | γνωμικὸν mg. PVWVa | 24-25. νουνεχὴς — ἀνδρεῖος PVWVa: οὐ γὰρ νουνεχής, οὐ γὰρ δίκαιος, οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος a. corr. Ve: οὐ γὰρ νουνεχής τε γὰρ ἦν, δίκαιος, ἀνδρεῖος p. corr. Ve | 25. ἀκλινὴς PVWVa: καὶ ἀ. Ve | κἂν PVWVa: ἐν Ve | τῶν in ras. P: VWVa: οὐ τῶν, p. cancell. οὐ Ve.

and since he actively despised most pleasures there was nothing superhuman in his complete conquest of such. Towards the pleasures he enjoyed, he exercised self-discipline, nor did he give way to sloth; he was at the same time both moderate and dignified, neither overdemanding nor in any way at all arrogant, even towards the slaves he bought; he was both severe and gentle, frugal and generous, so that when our good fortune deserted to our enemies — as is her wont — he remained unmoved and when again she returned — for fortune delights in changes — he did not become arrogant. In victory he was not puffed up, for he feared the future, knowing the instability of human life. In defeat he was indomitable, or if you prefer, unconquerable, since his soul never surrendered. As far as concerned the lot of his friends, if they were beset by misfortune, he still stood by them and showed the same attitude towards all, however precarious their situation. For he was no Proteus to change himself as times changed[10]. He knew what remedies to use and healed adversities by applying the antidote. He knew that all human affairs are essentially unstable and that fortune delights in constant change. So while sailing on a fair wind he looked out for tempests and reckoned that storms would blow up and accordingly prepared himself for troubles ahead. When they came he remained calm and even though the waves and violent winds threatened instantly to engulf him, he did not despair but hoped for unbroken calm.

10. Homer, *Odyssey* 4, 417-418; 455-458.

ἡδονῶν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἦν, ὡς αἰεὶ κρατεῖν ἁπασῶν ὑπερορῶν παντάπασι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχων ῥᾳθυμίᾳ τε αὑτὸν οὐκ ἐκδεδωκώς, ὁ αὐτὸς μέτριός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής, ἀνεπαχθὴς καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀφόρητος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὠνητοῖς δούλοις, ἐμβριθὴς καὶ ἤπιος, οἰκονομικός τε καὶ μεγαλόψυχος, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ποτε τύχης αὐτομολησάσης πρὸς τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐναντίους (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ 'κείνῃ σύνηθες) οὗτος αὐτὸς ἄτρεπτος ἦν, αὐτῷ δὲ αὖ ἐπανελθούσης (χαίρει γὰρ αἰεὶ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς) οὐδαμῶς μέγα φρονῶν. Καὶ ἐν μὲν νίκαις ἄτυφος, εὔριπον τὸν βίον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ τὸ μέλλον δεδιώς, ἐν δὲ ἥτταις ἀκατάπτωτος, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἀήττητος, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς οἱ μηδαμῶς ὑποπεπτωκυίας. Τοῖς τε τῶν φίλων εὐδαίμοσιν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἐκεῖνοι πεπείρανται, τηρῶν τὴν γνώμην διετέλεσε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τρόπον, τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνωμάλως φερομένων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τις Πρωτεὺς ἐκεῖνος, ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τῶν καιρῶν f.5 συμμεταβάλλων| αὐτόν. Ἤδει κεραννύναι τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τἀναντία διορθοῦσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἤδει μηδὲν ὂν βέβαιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν τύχην χαίρουσαν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα εὐπλοῶν προσεδόκα μὲν τρικυμίαν, ἐλογίζετο δὲ ζάλην καὶ πρὸς ταραχὴν αὑτὸν ἑτοιμάζων, ἐπελθούσης οὐκ ἐταράττετο, ἐπεὶ κἂν μέσαις δυσηνεμίαις ἀπειλούντων τῶν κυμάτων ὑπερσχήσειν αὐτίκα μάλα οὗτος οὐκ ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐλπίζων συχνὴν γαλήνην.

---

9. cf. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 222. 14. Homerus, *Odyssea* 4.417-8, 455-8. 16-17. Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 42.

---

1. οὐ PVWVe: οὐδὲ Va | ὡς αἰεὶ in ras. P: VWVa: ὥστε συνεχῶς cancell. et s.s. ὡς αἰεὶ Ve | 2. ῥαθυμίᾳ τε αὑτὸν in ras. P: VWVa: ῥαθυμίαις τε ἑαυτὸν Ve | 3. ὁ in ras. P: VWVa: οὐχ ὁ, p. cancell. οὐχ Ve | ἀνεπαχθὴς PVWVa: οὐκ ἀ., p. cancell. οὐκ Ve | 4. ἐμβριθὴς PVWVa: οὐκ ἐ., p. cancell. οὐκ Ve | 5. ὡς καὶ in ras. P: VWVa: s.s. p. cancell. οὐ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα Ve | 10. ἀκατάπτωτος in ras. P:VWVa: ἄπτωτος Ve | 11. τοῖς P VWVa: οὐ τ. p. cancell. οὐ Ve | 12. τὴν in ras. P: VWVa: αὐτοῖς τ. p. cancell. αὐτοῖς Ve | τὸν PVWVa: οὐ τ. p. cancell. οὐ Ve.

Hence he bore all things and he neither did nor uttered anything base or ignoble, nor did he ever speak any scornful or boastful words. On the contrary, if someone praised him, he blushed and would instantly and deliberately change the subject. He truly knew how to observe an unfeigned dignity, to preserve complete self-control, to do nothing reckless nor which would inevitably cause him distress unless it was fitting which indeed he put before pleasure. But he knew how to mix with everybody without causing pain, except when a certain wolf attacked the herd and then had to be scared away by the shepherd. He was slow to inflict punishment and sometimes put it off when he considered this the wisest course. For I suppose in this kind of situation he was reluctant to act, but he was completely unrestrained when it was a question of offering a prize or dispensing bounty: a Nile refreshing all with its flowing waters. He knew well how to show moderation towards good things and he did not approve of going to those extremes which inevitably led to countless dangers. He was content to walk in trodden paths, seeking safety in all things but ready to face dangers — not of course always and every kind of danger for this would be madness — but whenever peaceful means no longer offered any way of escape. Was he exceedingly equitable? Was he not so to perfection? Did he not exercise control over his anger? Indeed more than any one else we are proud to say. Many have powers of oratory but in this he was outstanding[11]. It was impossible to disobey him when he spoke. With just his smile he subdued those who were angry without reason, and by using his powers of speech he could even transform the extreme cruelty of the Scythians into love for humanity[12]. He was civil, affable, mild, kind, endowed with every grace, so entirely unblemished[13] so that he never gave cause for reproach, but was most easily won over by those who wanted to persuade him to perform

11. Cf. Cydones 293, *7-14;* 322, *1-10*: commenting on Theodore's ability.

12. The term Scythian was generally used by the Byzantines to refer to the nomadic tribes of the Southern Russian steppes. In this period it was usually applied to the Tartars and Mongols: see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den Byzantinischen Quellen,* II, Budapest 1958, 2nd ed., 282; Id., «Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung», *Polychronion Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag.* Heidelberg 1966, 366-77; Zachariadou, «Manuel II Paleologus», pp. 475-76. In this particular case Manuel seems to be using the term to indicate barbarians in general. Cf. his *Letters* 14, p. 38 n. 2.

13. I have translated the Greek word ἔντορνος (cf. Plato, *Laws* 898b = turned with lathe) as unblemished. Cf. Manuel's *Dialogue on marriage, Paris. gr. 3041,* f.

῞Οθεν πάντα μὲν ἔφερεν, οὐ ποιῶν, οὐ λογιζόμενος, οὐ λέγων ταπεινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγεννές· ἐν οὐδενὶ δὲ τὴν ὀφρὺν ἦρεν, οὐδέ τι ῥῆμα κόμπου προήνεγκεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ἔλεγε περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ βελτίω, ὅδ᾽ ἠρυθρία τε εὐθὺς καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐπίτηδες τὸν λόγον ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα. Τηρεῖν μὲν ἔγνω τὸ σχῆμα μάλα γνησίως, φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἄθραυστον ὅλως, μηδὲν προπετὲς πράττειν, μηδὲν τῶν ἀνιᾶν πεφυκότων (εἰ μὴ πρὸς συμφέρον ὑπῆρχεν, ὅ γε τῶν ἡδέων ἀεὶ προὐτίθει), ἀλλὰ μιγνύναι πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἄλυπον, εἰ μή τις ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου ποιμένος ἀπεσοβεῖτο λύκος ἐπὶ ποίμνην ἁλλόμενος, δίκην μὲν βραδέως λαμβάνειν καί που καὶ παραδραμεῖν δόξαν ἄμεινον. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν δήπου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νωθρός τις ἄγαν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ βραβεῖα παρέχειν καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐλευθεριότητι χρῆσθαι παντελῶς ἀκάθεκτος, Νεῖλος ἅπαντας ἄρδων τοῖς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ νάμασιν. ῎Ηδει τῷ μέσῳ τῶν καλῶν ἄκρως ἐπιτυγχάνειν, τὰς δὲ ἀκρότητας μὴ προσίεσθαι, ταυταισὶ γὰρ δήπουθεν κίνδυνον μυρίον ἀνηρτημένον. ᾿Ηγάπα τετριμμένην βαδίζων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν ἅπασι ζητῶν, κινδύνους δὲ ῥᾳδίως ἐδέχετο, οὐ πάντοτε καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς (τουτὶ γὰρ παραπλήγων ἀνθρώπων ἂν εἴη), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε τούτους οὐκ ἐξῆν μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου διαφυγεῖν. ᾿Επιεικής τις ἄγαν ἦν; οὗτος δὲ τί, οὐ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερβολῆς; θυμοῦ κρατῶν ἕτερος; καὶ μὴν ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτιμησόμεθα μᾶλλον εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων. Γλῶττα πολλοῖς f.5v μὲν γέγονεν| ἀγαθή, τούτῳ δὲ ὡς μάλιστα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀπειθεῖν φθεγγομένῳ. ῾Ημέρου καὶ τῷ μειδιάματι ἀδίκως ἀγριαίνοντα· τῇ δὲ τῆς γλώττης δυνάμει χρησάμενος μετέβαλεν ἂν εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν ὠμότητα τὴν πολλήν· ἦν γὰρ ἀστεῖος, ἦν ἥδιστος, προσηνής, μειλίχιος, πάσαις ταῖς χάρισι κεκραμένος, ὅλος μὲν ἔντορνος, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν παρέχειν λαβὴν εἰς μῶμον, ὅλος δὲ εὔληπτος τοῖς αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐθέλουσιν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καλῶν ἔργων.

---

3. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ in ras. P: VWVa: ἀλλὰ κἂν Ve | 24. γλώττης in ras. PV:W: φωνῆς VeVa | μετέβαλεν PVW: μετέβαλλεν VeVa | 28. καλῶν in ras. P: VWVa: ἀγαθῶν p. cancell. et s.s. καλῶν Ve.

---

91 ‘σαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἔντορνον ὅλον ἐπιδεικνύντα, μηδαμόθεν παρέχοντα λαβὴν τοῖς εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον εὐκαιροῦσιν’.

worthy deeds. For he believed that he must be completely unyielding to the wicked and perverse but in every way open to the good. Moreover when misfortunes befell him — he experienced many and great, for he was tried to the utmost — he showed himself on every score to be superior, and though circumstances changed he remained constant, a rare thing among men.

Therefore to refer to his unchanging qualities by likening him to a statue wrought from steel is to speak the truth. That he was a man such as my speech has revealed to you, or rather, that he far outshone this, he himself has proved by his actions, his almost life-long suffering, and even more so by his deeds during these tribulations, and again by all the hardship he suffered while performing these deeds. For he never neglected what had to be done, nor was he ever seen downcast, sunk in despondency, fear or the like, but on the other hand he never gave way to merriment for long, whether in entertainments, banquets, games, hunting or any such pastime. Nor was he idle during the most difficult and gloomy events, not even during his grave illness, so that not a single moment should be spent in vain, for once lost it could never be regained.

And then he collected all the maxims of the wise men of old concerning moral behaviour, such as 'a sense of proportion is the highest good', or 'moderation in all things', as if such sayings were free gifts, and gathering what each had to say he put into practice all these moral precepts. Thus he surpassed them all. He was exceedingly clever and so his thoughts harmonised with those of wise men and he fulfilled his duties as was fitting and pursued in sincerity the wisdom of the past. However he never complied with such wisdom for wrong ends,

῾Ηγεῖτο γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτῷ τοῖς μὲν κακοήθεσι καὶ διεστραμμένοις ἀνθρώποις παντελῶς ἀχείρωτος εἶναι, εὐχερὴς δὲ ἀγαθοῖς εἰς ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοὶ νεύσαιεν. Καὶ μὴν τῶν συμπιπτόντων αὐτῷ δεινῶν (πολλῶν δ᾽ αὐτὸς πεπείραται καὶ μεγάλων· τοῖς γὰρ μεγίστοις μάλιστα αἱ βάσανοι) κρείττων οὐ σμικρῶς ὤφθη, τῶν δὲ καιρῶν μεταβαλλομένων ἐκεῖνος ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν, ὃ δὴ σπάνιον ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

Τὸν ἄνδρα τοίνυν τοῦτον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅς ἂν ἀνδριάντα φαίη ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἀπεξεσμένον οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι, ἀφορῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν καλῶν ἀμετάβλητον. Ὅτι δὲ τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἷον ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν ἔδειξε, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ὡς οὐκ ἦν τοιοῦτος ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ βελτίων, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξεν οἷς τε ἔπραττεν, οἷς τε ἔφερε διὰ βίου σχεδὸν παντός, μᾶλλον δὲ οἷς ἔπραττε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάσχειν καὶ αὖθις οἷς ὑφίστατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράττειν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠμέλει τῶν δεόντων οὐδεπώποτε, οὐδ᾽ ὤφθη γέ ποτε καταπεπτωκὼς ὑπ᾽ ἀθυμίας ἀμέτρου καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοὺς λογισμοὺς διακεχυμένος ἐπὶ πολὺ οὔτ᾽ ἐν εὐθυμίαις, οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἑορταῖς, οὐκ ἐν παιδιαῖς, οὐκ ἐν θήρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Οὐδ᾽ ἦν ἀργὸς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις καὶ σκυθρωποῖς τισι πράγμασιν, οὔμενουν οὐδ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μάλα νοσεῖν, ὡς μηδὲν τοῦ χρόνου μάτην ἀναλίσκοιτο, οὗ τὸ παρελθὸν ἀμήχανον πάλιν εὑρεῖν.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ «μέτρον ἄριστον» καὶ τὸ «μηδὲν ἄγαν» καὶ ὅλως ὅσαπερ τοῖς πάλαι σοφοῖς| εἴρηται εἰς τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν εὐκοσμίαν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐράνου συλλέξας ποιῶν διατετέλεκεν, ὥστε ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἕν που τούτων εἴρηκεν, οὗτος δὲ πάντα ἔπραξεν· οὕτω τοῖς ὅλοις ἐνίκα. Ἦν δὲ τοσούτῳ δεξιὸς καὶ οὕτω ταῖς ἁπάντων συμβαίνων γνώμαις, μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιῶν καὶ γνησίως

---

21. Cleobulus apud Stobaeum III. 1.172; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 80; Pindarus, *Fragmenta* (ed. Christ) 216.

4-5. μάλιστα αἱ βάσανοι in ras. P: VWVa: αἱ δοκιμαὶ Ve.

like some who often avow gratitude by acknowledging their debt to the philosophers, even though they may sometimes utterly miss the mark, or else select simply what suits their purpose. For it is possible he who gives nothing might be a source of joy, and again the opposite might be true. He was accessible to all, most courteous in company and because of his noble character he never inflicted indignities. For he was well versed in the master-science of civic custom and public affairs and indeed he was thus equipped to cope in either field or even to deal with both at the same time. He knew how to appear relaxed and how always to give due consideration to important matters and at times to achieve great and wonderful things without losing sight of their lighter side.

Thus nature, character, education and humaneness produced a man devoted to his parents, repaying in full all that a father could wish from his son. He was greatly loved by his friends, to all a haven[14] and a dispenser of every kind of blessing. Such qualities convinced even the most hostile of men to long greatly for a truce and to seek all means by which it could be obtained, and having once obtained it, to do all they could to preserve it. The cause of such a state of affairs was this man's virtue and it was thanks to him that those who boasted of their superiority because of their good fortune, shrank from those who in actual fact they were still terrifying. And when things were reversed — for they did change completely and our fortunes flourished while theirs fell to ruins — it was necessary that they should alter their course as well to fit the changed circumstances. And so he therefore obtained from them the things which previously they had from his predecessors, and they celebrated as a holiday the day when he sent an envoy to them bearing a short letter. Even though he made an offer, it came as an order rather than an offer by reason of his supreme authority. The recipients of the letter leapt with joy realizing that this act was a token of peace, although they did not cherish for its own sake, as they should have done, but rather because the absence of peace could utterly undo them — the opposite to what they had previously thought[15]. Thus

14. Cf. Manuel Palaeologus, *Letters* 13, *13*.

15. This passage must refer to the rebel archons whose insurrection was crushed in 1387. See below pp. 115-19, 125-33.

πάντας μετερχόμενος, οὐ μήν τισι πρὸς βλάβην χαριζόμενος, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις χάριν ὁμολογοῦντας εἰδέναι τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλοντας ἔχειν, εἴ ποτε καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ διημάρτανον, ἤπερ ἄλλοι τοὺς λαβόντας ὧν ἐπεθύμουν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ δόντα μηδὲν εὐφρᾶναι καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖθις εὑρεῖν. Ἦν μὲν κοινότατος ἅπασιν, ἦν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις χαριέστατος καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤθους ἐλεύθερον οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι λυμαινόμενος. Ὑπῆρχε γὰρ πληρέστατος ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἐπιστήμης εἴς τε τὰ πολιτικὰ ἤθη, εἴς τε τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐξήρκει γε συνεῖναι καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστοις πρὸς τρόπου καὶ αὖθις πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ. Ἤδει τε δοκεῖν διαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ τὰ καιριώτερα προὔργου τίθεσθαι καὶ κατασκευάζειν ἐνίοτε μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστὰ πράγματα μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐκ ἀσέμνου.

Οὕτω τοίνυν φύσεως ἔχων καὶ προαιρέσεως, παιδεύσεώς τε καὶ δεξιότητος ὑπῆρχε μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πατράσι καλῶς πληρῶν ἃ δὴ πατέρες εὔξαιντ' ἂν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἴσχειν, ὑπῆρχε δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐρασμιώτατος· ἦν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι λιμὴν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀγαθῶν πρύτανις. Ταῦτα καὶ δυσμενεστάτους ἀνέπειθε σπονδῶν μὲν ἄγαν ἐπιθυμεῖν, πάντα δὲ τρόπον ζητεῖν ὅπως αὐτῶν τύχοιεν, καὶ τυχόντας ἅπαντα πράττειν, ὥστ' ἐπιμεῖναι τῷ πράγματι. Αἴτιον δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦδε τ' ἀνδρὸς δι' ὃν ὠρρώδουν οὓς γε ἐφόβουν οἱ διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐπαιρόμενοι. Μεταβεβλημένων γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων (καὶ γὰρ ἀντέστραπτο παντελῶς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἤνθει, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων κατερρυήκει), χρεὼν ἦν δήπου κἀκείνους μεταβαλόντας συμφέρεσθαι
f.6 τούτοις. Ἦν οὖν ἐκείνῳ παρ' αὐτῶν ἃ πρὶν ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῶν | πρὸ τοῦδε· καὶ ἦγον ταύτην ἑορτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τις παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἧκε βραχύ τι γράμμα κομίζων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπήγγελλέ τι (οὕτω δ' ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς ὡς μᾶλλόν γε προστάττειν ἢ ἐπαγγέλλειν) ἐπῇδων οἱ δεχόμενοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τεκμήριον ἡγούμενοι εἰρήνης τὸ πραχθέν, ἣν οὐκ ἠγάπων δι' αὐτήν, ὅπερ ἔδει, τὸ δὲ μὴ διαφθαρῆναι ταύτης ἀπούσης, ὅπερ ἐναντίως πρόσθεν ἐνόμιζον.

---

7. cf. Aristotelem, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1094ª 14.

---

1. ὡς in ras. PV: WVa: ὅσῳ Ve | 2. χάριν ὁμολογοῦντας εἰδέναι in ras. PV: WVa: s.s. p. cancell. ἔχειν εὐχαριστοῦντες Ve. | 5. κοινότατος in ras. P: VWVa: κοινωνηκότατος Ve. | 10. καιριώτερα in ras. PWVa: κυριώτερα Ve | 20. ὠρρώδουν sec. ρ s.s. P: VWVa: ὀρρώδουν Ve | 21 ἀντέστραπτο ult. litt. in ras. P: VWVa: ἀντέστραπται et p. s.s. ο Ve | 23. κατερρυήκει ult. litt. in ras. P: VWVa: κατερρύηκε Ve | 29. τὸ in ras. P: VWVa: τῷ Ve.

virtue is better than the good fortune which caused our enemies to brag, though afterwards when they were cheated of their hope they made themselves objects of ridicule.

So far we have spoken only briefly and we think that we have thoroughly proved that your Despot's nature deserved great praise. But though I may need to substantiate this further, as far as possible, I shall speak briefly, since to give a detailed account of this man of blessed memory's achievements is to usurp the task of the historian[16]. For the same reason I shall not recount everything he did, since the magnitude of his achievements prevents me from expatiating on each one singly, and their number — for they are innumerable — makes it impossible to describe them all in proper sequence. My failure to detail them at length is, I believe, contrary to your wishes, for I know, and am entirely convinced, that just like those who yearn to see the portraits of their beloved ones, so you long to see this man's entire life, all of which is worthy of admiration. Perhaps in failing to declare accurately how much he had achieved I might also appear to be committing an injustice towards the chief performer of these deeds. Indeed in so far as mere willingness is concerned, I would agree with you and yet, I shall decline if the arduousness of the task makes it impossible for me to do what I would wish. For undoubtedly the present attempt entirely saps my strength, which was indeed at the outset weak and is now rapidly diminishing, such are the demands of this particular oration. Very well then, from the many and fine and great deeds which you all know to have been accomplished by him — who not long ago was still among us but now alas is the object of our tears — I shall, as I have said, only actually mention a few of his achievements and that in the briefest manner. Nevertheless these deeds will show clearly that the man who achieved them was a true benefactor to mankind to whom he brought great honour. Indeed no one must think that because I do not detail all his achievements he will be any the less famous. For his virtue so overflows that it will make up for our inadequacy. All of his acts are indeed worthy of great praise, but any of them will suffice to represent them all, unless of course one

16. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 1.

Οὕτως ἀρετὴ κρείττων τύχης, ἧς ἕνεκα οἱ δυσμενεῖς ἀλαζονευόμενοι εἶτα τῶν ἐλπίδων ψευσθέντες γέλωτα προσωφλήκασιν οὐ σμικρόν.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἡμῖν εἴρηται καὶ νομίζομεν καλῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι τὴν τοῦδε φύσιν ὡς ἦν ἀξία πολλῶν ἐπαίνων. Εἰ δὲ προσδεῖ καὶ τῶν καθέκαστα, λέξων ἔρχομαι κατ' ἐπιτομὴν ὅσον οἷόν τε. Τὸ γὰρ δὴ λέγειν ἐκτάδην τὰ εἰργασμένα τῷ μακαρίτῃ, τοῖς ἔργον ἔχουσιν ἱστορεῖν οἰκειότερον ἂν γένοιτο. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν οὐ πάντα καταλέξομεν ὅσαπερ ἐκείνῳ διεπράττετο. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων εἴργει πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ συγχωρεῖ διαζωγραφεῖν ἑξῆς ἅπαντα· οὐ γὰρ εὐαρίθμητα πάντως. Οἶμαι δὲ μὴ ἂν εἶναι τοῦτο πρὸς γνώμην ὑμῖν, λέγω τὸ μὴ τὰ 'κείνου πάντα διεξιέναι. Ἐπιθυμεῖτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν, εὖ οἶδα τοῦτο καὶ πάνυ πέπεισμαι, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πίνακι γεγραμμένας τὰς τῶν ἐρωμένων εἰκόνας τὸν βίον πάντα τοῦδε τ' ἀνδρὸς ὡς ὅλον ὄντα θαύματος ἄξιον. Δόξομεν δ' ἴσως καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὸν τῶν ἔργων ἀρχιτέκτονα, εἰ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐξείποιμεν ἀκριβῶς ὅσον ἐκείνῳ κατείργαστο. Ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν συμφωνῶν, ὅσα γε πρὸς μόνον τὸ θέλειν, εἶτα παραιτήσομαι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος πρόσαντες, εἰ μὴ δυναίμην ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ θελήσει. Νικᾷ γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀτεχνῶς τὸ παρὸν ἐγχείρημα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχὺν οὖσάν γε καὶ οἴκοθεν ἀδρανῆ καὶ πλέον γινομένην ἐξίτηλον τῷ τοῦ λόγου σχήματι. Οὐκοῦν ἐκ
f.7 τῶν | πολλῶν τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ἅτινα πάντες ἐκείνῳ σύνιστε πεπραγμένα (ὃς πρὸ μικροῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν, νυνὶ δὲ γέγονε, φεῦ, τῶνδε τῶν θρήνων ὑπόθεσις), ὀλίγα λέξομεν ἤδη καὶ κατ' ἐπιτομήν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοιαῦτα μέντοι γε πάντως, οἷάπερ δείξει τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀληθῆ καρπὸν ὄντα τῇ κοινῇ ταύτῃ φύσει καί τινα φιλοτιμίαν ἐξαίρετον. Οὐ τοίνυν τῷ μὴ πάντα κατὰ μέρος διεξιέναι νομιστέον ἡμῖν ἂν εἴη τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἔλαττον σχήσειν εἰς εὐδοξίαν. Τὸ γὰρ περιὸν ἐκείνου τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνδέον ἀναπληρώσει. Ἀρκέσει γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἔργων τῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς μηδὲν ὂν τῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ὃ μὴ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν

6-7. cf. Plutarchum, *Vita Alexandri* 1.

---

3. ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ in ras. P: VWVa: s.s. p. cancell. γενικώτερον Ve | 5. τῶν καθέκαστα in ras. P: VWVa: s.s. p. cancell. μερικωτέρων Ve | 14. ἐρωμένων PVVeVa: ἱερωμένων W | 20. ἡμετέραν Ve desinit hic.

treats the matter purely superficially as a child would. I should add too that often a small and quite simple episode, provided it is something basic, reveals a man's nature just as much as many and various actions related in order and sequence[17]. By basic I mean something indicative of the natural character indicating that the soul passionately desires the good. For this reason I shall resist your wish and shall relate only a few of his achievements and as far as possible briefly.

Well then, gentlemen, this man whose life shows the inadequacy of all tongues who have tried to praise him — both when he was still alive and now that he is dead — this man, I say, was the son of an excellent emperor who displayed great affection towards his sons, and not to be outdone in this respect his son returned this affection. For this reason, although he admired Alexander more than any other man and listened to and related his exploits with pleasure whenever possible, he was critical of that incident which occurred when Philip once said, 'I love you dearly my son', and Alexander in reply said, 'And I, father, shall love my own son'. For he thought this quite unworthy of so great a man. Nor did he bear this with equanimity, but so great was his affection for Alexander that he felt ashamed on his behalf. Doubtless he would not have interceded for Alexander had any one reproached him, for it would have been impossible for him to lie, and so he could not speak in his defence, asserting that Alexander put love for his father above that for his children and that in fact he had said 'And I, father, love you and shall indeed always love you and I shall cling to this great prize of loving thus doing what is just and right, for to you I owe my existence, profound love, my very education and the enjoyment of great blessings and the hope of still greater benefits to come'. Such were his feelings for his father and he felt the same for his mother. In everything he was a moderate man and not at all contentious but he strove to surpass everybody in affection and doing good and rendering what was due and would most willingly have given up his life to demonstrate his great affection. His deeds were numerous and great, and from these I could have revealed the truth about him. But I shall however mention only two which will provide the material from which I shall in a moment demonstrate his whole achievement, though for various reasons my description will be brief, and in any case my speech is not addressed to an audience ignorant of these events.

17. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 1.

ἄξιον, εἰ μή τις μειρακιωδῶς ἔχων ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς τι θεάσαιτο. Κἀκεῖνο δ' ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι πολλάκις κἀκ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ἁπλουστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων, εἴ γέ ἐστι καίρια, οὐχ ἧττον φύσις γνωρίζεται ἢ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἔργων ῥυθμῷ καὶ τάξει δεδηλωμένων. Λέγω δὲ καίρια ὅσαπέρ ἐστι δηλωτικὰ φυσικῶν ἰδιωμάτων, δι' ἅ τις ἔχει ψυχὴν εἰδέναι ἐρῶσαν ἀγαθὴν εἶναι. Ὅθεν ἀνθέξομαι τῆς βουλῆς, ὀλίγα τῶν ἐκείνου διεξιὼν καὶ συνελὼν ὡς οἷόν τε.

Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ πᾶσαν γλῶτταν πειρωμένην αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν εἴσω πίπτουσαν ἀποφαίνων καὶ περιὼν ἔτι καὶ μεταστὰς ἤδη, παῖς ὢν ἀρίστῳ βασιλεῖ πολύ τι τοῖς υἱέσι δεικνύντι φίλτρον ὥσπερ ἁμιλλώμενος ἦν αὐτῷ μηδαμῶς εἰς τὸ φιλεῖν κατόπιν αὐτοῦ λειφθῆναι. Ὅθεν θαυμάζων καὶ φιλῶν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος Ἀλέξανδρον, πάντα μὲν ἡδέως τὰ 'κείνου καὶ ἀκούων ἦν καὶ λέγων ὁπότ' ἐξῆν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς Φιλίππου πρὸς αὐτόν ποτε εἰρηκότος «φιλῶ, σε σφόδρα, ὦ παῖ» τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν «κἀγὼ φιλήσω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ, πάτερ», τοῦτο δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ φάναι τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὐδ' f.7v ὁπωστιοῦν ἡγεῖτο, οὐδὲ | ῥᾳδίως ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ᾐσχύνετο διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φιλίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παραιτήσασθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπό του διαβαλλόμενον τῷ γε ἀπολογήσασθαι ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο ψεύσασθαι, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνόν, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγάπην τῆς τῶν φιλτάτων προτιθέντα «κἀγώ σε, πάτερ», εἰπεῖν «φιλῶ καὶ φιλήσω γε ἀεὶ καὶ οὐ παραχωρήσω σοι ῥᾳδίως τῶν πρωτείων ἐν τῷ φιλεῖν, δίκαια πράττειν ἐθέλων, τοῦτο μὲν τὸ εἶναι ἔχων παρὰ σοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ σφόδρα φιλεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολελαυκέναι καὶ ἠλπικέναι λήψεσθαι μείζω». Εἶχε μὲν οὕτως αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· εἶχε δὲ αὖ ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα. Ὢν γὰρ πρὸς πάντα μέτριος καὶ μηδαμοῦ δύσερις, κατὰ τὸ φιλεῖν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀποδιδόναι, κρατεῖν ἁπάντων ἐφιλονείκει καὶ ῥᾷστα ἂν ἀφῆκε καὶ τὸ ζῆν, ὅπως τὸ φίλτρον ὅσον ἐνδείξηται. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων, δι' ὧν ἂν ἔχοιμι τἀληθὲς δηλοῦν, δυοῖν γε μόνον μνησθεὶς αὐτίκα τὸ πᾶν ἐπιδείξομαι, καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα συνελὼν ἐρῶ πολλῶν ἕνεκα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως γε οὐ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.

1-6. cf. Plutarchum, *Vita Alexandri* 1. 9. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 602-3.
14-16. locum non inveni.

---

18. παραιτήσασθαι (ex παραιτήσεσθαι) P: W: παραιτήσεσθαι VVa | 19. τῷ P: τὸ VWVa.

Our troubles had piled up and the disasters of our misfortune had reached their climax[18]. Moreover the City (Constantinople) had already been seized and the acropolis alone challenged the conquerors to be, the Turkish army had approached the walls and the general and officers swore to convey him safely to the seat of his government — it was the metropolis of Macedonia and the other cities[19]. My father, my mother and myself and those who deliberated about my brother's future agreed on this plan but while it was being carried out my father changed his mind. This was by reason of me, though it was certainly not my wish. It happened in this way. As I was wounded in my head and feet my brother kept me reclining on his knees while he remained still and did not move at all out of pity for me. For he knew that if he moved this would hurt my wounds. Because he loved me he found it hard to tear himself away and in tears he remained to take care of me. For it was hard for him to bear to be separated from me, and now I have to bear separation from him. For now he is hidden among the dead while we still appear among the living and have to look upon the sun while he is below under the earth, he who was dearer to me than the shining rays. At this point, while he was delaying, a messenger came to me to announce that my father had changed his mind since he feared for his life should he be suspected of having knowledge of my brother's escape. When my brother heard this from me he had no need of persuasion nor did he wait for people to beg or beseech him or

---

18. Second revolt of Andronicus IV in 1376. On 12 August with the help of the Genoese and the Turks he entered Constantinople to oust his father from the throne (CBB I, 7 § 17, p. 67, 9 § 32, p. 96, II, pp. 312-13, cf. Chalcocandyles (B)61-62 = (D)55-57; Ducas (B)45 = (G)73). Short chronicle no. 9 gives the number of the Genoese who fell in the attack but makes no reference to the Turks. This passage therefore is of great importance, in that it clearly states that the Turkish army actually entered Constantinople to fight on the side of Andronicus. It was undoubtedly thanks to this Turkish military help that Andronicus succeeded in capturing the City. In the light of this passage Cydones's remarks acquire a deeper meaning: «οἱ Τοῦρκοι βαρύτεροι γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν, ἐπαρθέντες τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἣν τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συνεμάχησαν. ὥστε καὶ τὴν Καλλίπολιν μισθὸν ταύτης λαβόντες καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προσπαραλαβόντες τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ προσέτ' ἀργύριον ὅσον οὐδ' ἄν τις ῥαδίως ἀριθμῆσαι πραξάμενοι, οὔπω φασὶν ἄξιόν τι τῆς βοηθείας κομίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάττουσι πάντα καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς πάνθ' ὑπακούειν, ἤ τι τῶν προστεταγμένων μεμφομένους δεδέσθαι». Cydones 167, *13-19*, p. 38.

19. The general and officers who offered to smuggle Theodore out of the city

Ἦν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δυστυχίας ἡμῖν ἐς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα. Καὶ τοίνυν τοῦ μὲν ἄστεος ἤδη κατειλημμένου, τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως μονονουχὶ προκαλουμένης τοὺς ληψομένους, τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς περσικῆς προσπελασάσης τῷ τείχει, ὀμνύντος μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὀμνύντων δὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἐκεῖνον σῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ παραπέμψειν ἀρχήν — ἣν δὲ ἡ μητρόπολις Μακεδονίας καὶ πόλεις ἄλλαι — ὅ τε πατήρ, ἥ τε μήτηρ κἀγὼ καὶ οἷς ἐμέλησε περὶ ἐκείνου βουλεύσασθαι, συναινοῦντες ἦμεν τῇ πράξει, ὄντος δὲ ἐν χεροῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπειτα μετάμελος ἧκε τῷ πατρί· ἦν δὲ αἴτιος ἐγὼ μηδαμῶς βουλόμενος εἶναι. Συνέβη δὲ ὡδί. Τετρωμένον με τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὼ πόδε εἶχεν ἀνακείμενον ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ διέμενεν ἀτρέμας, f.8 μηδαμῶς τὸ σῶμα κινῶν, οἴκτῳ τῷ πρὸς ἐμέ· ἔγνω | γὰρ ὡς κινηθεὶς ὀδύνην προξενήσει μου ταῖς πληγαῖς . Ὢν δὲ δυσαπόσπαστος διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν, ἔμενεν ἐπιμελόμενός μου δακρύων. Οὐ γὰρ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερε τὸν ἐμὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ τὸν ἐκείνου φέροντος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη κέκρυπται, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν ζῶσιν ἔτι φαινόμεθα καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν ἀνεχόμεθα, ἐκείνου δύντος ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὃς ἦν ἡδίων ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἀκτῖνος. Ἐν δὴ τῷ μέλλειν ἐκεῖνον ἧκέ τις ἀγγέλλων πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ μεταμέλοιτο δεδιὼς περὶ τῷ ζῆν, ἂν ὁ δρασμὸς ὑποπτευθῇ γεγενῆσθαι τῇ 'κείνου γνώμῃ. Καὶ ὃς μαθὼν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, μήτε τοῦ πείσοντος δεηθείς, μήτε τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας

---

17. τὴν om. W | 19. τῷ (ex τὸ) P:VWVa.

---

and convey him to Thessalonica, where shortly before he had been appointed its governor, presumably were attached to the Byzantine forces fighting on John V's side. Dennis, *The reign*, p. 42, n. 68 assumes that the στρατηγὸς and ἔκκριτοι refer to Andronicus and Murad. He therefore comes to the conclusion that the Sultan and Andronicus were willing to allow Theodore to take up his post in Thessalonica. Such an interpretation conflicts with the text. Though below Manuel mentions that an agreement with Andronicus for Theodore's release had been negotiated, this occurred more than two years later, shortly before their escape in the summer of 1379. Manuel makes it clear that the offer of 1376 was part of a secret plan which, if discovered to have been undertaken with John V's knowledge, would have placed the Emperor's life in jeopardy (p.101,*18-20*). Presumably those John was afraid of were Andronicus and the Turks.

demand of him that stay which would lead to every misfortune, but he placed his father's wish before his own life and in this case he neither asked my opinion, nor indeed that of my mother who exercised by far the strongest influence on her sons in advising them as to what they ought to do[20]. So he sat with his eyes fixed on the ground, thinking of a cruel executioner, and he did this even though he could have freed himself from every difficulty inflicted on us from all sides by these unhappy times[21], for he had hoped, if he should come out of prison, to achieve success and free us. But he chose rather to be confined with us in prison which was in itself indeed death, so to speak, and moreover meant that we were threatened with death by the sword[22]. So he willingly chose to die because of our father's apprehensions, though he could have said a thousand things against these had he wished to refuse, and there were indeed some who opposed the emperor, and for my part I agreed with them. For once he had got out, there was nothing he would not have done for us. For by night he would lie awake pondering how he could save us; and at dawn he would attempt all he had resolved by night, considering what must be done and doing everything to further the success of his plans; promising, pledging his word, swearing that should need arise he would defend them against the powerful, leaving undone nothing that might be of use. How then should we regard what he achieved by threatening terrible things against any who attacked us? Surely it is the same as having saved our lives. Surely this instance alone bears conclusive witness to his nature. For if indeed he chose to obey his father's command and allowed his own plans to wither because of his father's fears, would he not have suffered many deaths that he might deliver his father from this

---

20. Helena Cantacuzene (b. 1333), youngest daughter of John VI Cantacuzenus, married the emperor John V Palaeologus in May 1347. She was highly educated and played an important part in the religious and literary life of Constantinople. A moving description of her is found in Cydones (letter 222). She also took part in the affairs of state. She acted as Manuel's vice-gerent in 1391-2 (Misti 42, f.70^{v}, ed. Loenertz, Cydones II, App. D. 20, pp. 449-50). After her husband's death she took the monastic habit and entered the convent of Kyra Martha in Constantinople (exact date not known) under the name of Hypomone, though she still continued to advise her sons on political matters, as the case of Corinth shows (below p. 167). She died in 1396 (V. Laurent, «La date de la mort d'Hélène Cantacuzène. Une precision». *REB*, 14 (1956) 200-1. See also Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 30, pp. 135-38).

ἀναμείνας ἢ τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς τῆς εἰς πᾶν δεινὸν ἀπαγούσης, τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς βούλημα τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς προὔθηκε, μήτε τὴν ἐμὴν βουλὴν εἰς τοῦτο ζητήσας, μήτε μὴν τὴν τῆς μητρός, πάντων οὖσαν ἰσχυροτέραν υἱέσιν ἃ δεῖ πράττουσιν. Ἐκάθητο δὴ κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας καί τινα ἀπάνθρωπον δήμιον φανταζόμενος, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίει κύριος ὢν πάσης δυσχερείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἣν ὁ δυστυχὴς ἐκεῖνος καιρὸς ἡμῖν ἐπήνεγκε πολλαχόθεν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ τεύξεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερώσειν ἐλπίζων, εἴ γε ἔξω γένοιτο δεσμῶν. Ὅδ' εἵλετο συγκαθειρχθῆναι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐν εἱρκτῇ, ἢ δὴ καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν θάνατος ἦν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους προσαπειλοῦσα. Ὥστε γνώμῃ τέθνηκε διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποψίαν, πρὸς ἣν ἂν εἶχε μυρία λέγειν, εἴ γε ἐβούλετο παραιτεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τἀναντία τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγοντες, οἷς γε καὶ αὐτὸς συνεστοίχουν. Ὄντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκτὸς τί οὐκ ἂν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρᾶξαι; Ἕξουσι μὲν γὰρ αἱ νύκτες ἐναγρυπνοῦντα ταῖς βουλαῖς, αἷς ἂν ἡμᾶς ῥύσαιτο, ὄρθροι δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντα ἅπασι τοῖς δόξασι νύκτωρ, φροντίζοντα μὲν τῶν δεόντων, ὅπως δὲ τέλος προσῆκον σχοίη τὰ δόξαντα, πάντα
f.8v ποιοῦντα, ὑπισχνούμενον, ἐγγυώμενον | ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, ὀμνύντα, τούτου δεῆσαν, πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἀμύνειν, μηδὲν ἐῶντα τῶν συνοισόντων. Τὴν δὲ δὴ βοήθειαν, ἣ προσῆν ἂν πάντως ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα ἀπειλεῖν, εἴ τις τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῖν ἅψαιτο, ποῦ τις ἂν θείη; Οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν αὐτῇ παραπλήσιον εἰς τὸ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῖν συντηρεῖν; Ἦ που τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ἀρκεῖ καὶ μόνον τοῦτο καλῶς δηλῶσαι; Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑποψίας τοιαύτης προὔλαβε καὶ νεῦμα πατρός, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐτεθνήκει, πόσους ἂν θανάτους οὐχ ὑπήνεγκεν, ὥστε προφανοῦς αὐτὸν κινδύνου ῥύσασθαι; Οὐ ζηλωτὴς

4-5. Homerus, *Ilias* 3.217.

21. ἡμῖν PWVa: ἡμῶν V.

21. Cf. Manuel's letter to Jagoup, *Cod. Paris. gr.* 3041, ff.73-73v — section ed. and tr. by Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 528-30, 410-13.

22. John V and his two sons capitulated to Andronicus in October 1376 and were incarcerated in the tower of Anemas (CBB I, 7 § 17, p. 67, II, pp. 312-3). Manuel's fears about their lives during their imprisonment (1376-1379) seem to have been shared with some of his subjects (Cydones 167, *38-40*, p. 39).

extraordinary danger? Did he not act as Isaac did, or indeed as his Saviour himself? It is not too bold to say this, for the Saviour is set before us as a model and a pattern and to imitate the Son would be pleasing to the Father. While this was his attitude towards his parents did he show himself in any way different towards us? Not at all. For while we lived in the prison for nearly three years many diseases fell upon us and penetrated into our very depth, bitterly troubling us, sparing neither body nor soul[23]. And as far as reason could see there seemed no hope of our release, and so circumstances compelled us to hate even life itself which is dear to all, because to us it was so painful.

While we were in this plight there came consolation from God which served to calm us and moreover for a time buoyed up our spirits which not long before had been plunged into gloom by our troubles. And this — I shall keep silent as to how this came about for it would be superfluous to speak of it — was that Theodore should come out of prison under a certain treaty confirmed on oath[24]. And the condition laid down in this treaty was that in future he should not attempt to help us in any way by means of cunning contrivance but on the strength of the reconciliation, he might discuss any question he wished with his brother the emperor without fear. As soon as I heard this it lightened my heart and I was not distressed at the thought that I should be left behind alone, but on the contrary my sorrow was allayed at the idea that he would come to life once more — I mean by his being released from prison. I imagined him — for the wish is father to the thought — in his surroundings together with his comrades engaged in activities suited to young men of his age, such as military exercises, hunting, contests which strengthen men in training, and bring health and a life of fame. I dreamt of these and such like things and felt happy and I imagined seeing him receiving awards, his head crowned with laurel, declared the victor, for he excelled above all others in these contests. For to be victorious in every contest in which one wins a crown was something that had been his ambition since childhood and he had concentrated on building up his physical condition and

23. Cf. Manuel's letter to Jagoup, Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 529-30, *60-76*, tr. p. 412; CBB I, 7 § 19, p. 67, II, p. 321.

24. The reference is obscure. It is possible that a third party intervened for Theodore's release. It is perhaps unlikely that it was his mother, who according to Cydones, torn between her love for Andronicus on one hand and her husband and two sons on the other, was accused of disloyalty by both sides and her intervention for either was deeply resented (Letter 222, *58-75*, pp. 105-6).

᾿Ισαάκ, οὐ τοῦ Σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν. Τύπος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὑπογραμμὸς πρόκειται, καὶ εἴη ἄν πως κεχαρισμένον τῷ ᾿κείνου Πατρί, εἴ τις ζηλώσειε τὸν Υἱόν. Ὧν δὲ περὶ τοὺς γονέας τοιοῦτος, ἄλλος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνεφάνη; Οὐδαμῶς. Καὶ γὰρ οἰκοῦσι τὴν φρουρὰν ὀλίγου δεῖν τρία ἔτη, πολλὰ νοσήμαθ᾿ ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηψε καὶ διηνώχλει πικρὸν ἄχρι βάθους εἰσδυόμενα καὶ δὴ καὶ σπλάγχνων αὐτῶν καὶ κεφαλῆς μὴ φειδόμενα. ᾿Επεὶ δ᾿ ἐλπίζειν οὐκ ἦν λυθήσεσθαι ὅσα γε εἰς λογισμοὺς ἥκει, κατηνάγκαζε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν ζωήν, τὸ πᾶσι φίλον, ὥσπερ μισεῖν, οὕτω λυπρὰν οὖσαν.

᾿Αλλ᾿ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖσιν ἡμῖν ἧκέ τις παραμυθία πρὸς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς μικροῦ βεβαπτισμένας ἡμῖν ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐκούφισέ τε ἱκανῶς καὶ προσανέσχεν ἐπὶ καιρόν. ῾Η δὲ ἦν — τὸν δὲ τρόπον σιωπῶ, παρέλκον ὄν γε ῥηθῆναι — αὐτὸν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ συνθηκῶν τινων βεβαιουμένων ὅρκοις· καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι, δόλῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μηδέν τι τὸ παράπαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι, ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καταλλαγῆς ἕνεκα, δέους ἐκτὸς διαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ ἀδελφῷ πᾶν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. Τοῦτό γε εὐθὺς ἀκουσθὲν ἐμοὶ ἐποίει ῥᾷον διακεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἄχθεσθαι τῷ μόνον καταλειφθῆναι, ὅσον τῆς λύπης κουφίζεσθαι τῷ ᾿κεῖνον ἀναβιῶναι, λέγω δὴ τῷ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξιέναι. Καὶ ἐδόκουν αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν (τρέχει γὰρ ἡ
f.9 φαντα| σία ἐφ᾿ ἅ τις λίαν ἐπιθυμεῖ) ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ὄντα καὶ τὰ νέοις πρέποντα μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκων δρᾶν ἐν ὅπλων γυμνασίοις, ἐν θήραις, ἐν ἀγῶσι χορηγοῦσι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι σώμασι ῥώμην καὶ ὑγίειαν καὶ τὸ μετὰ δόξης βιῶναι. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολῶν ἔχαιρον· καὶ ᾤμην βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἆθλά τε δεχόμενον καὶ κεφαλὴν στεφανούμενον καὶ νικητὴν κηρυττόμενον, ἐπεὶ πολὺ τὸ συγκεχωρηκὸς ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις. Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἅπασι κρατεῖν ἐξ ὧν στεφανώσεταί τις ἀθλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ἐκ παιδὸς ὡσπερεὶ συνεκεκλήρωτο καὶ συνεπεδίδου τῷ σώματι πρὸς τελειότητά τε καὶ ῥώμην

---

1. *Act. Ap.* 7.44. 2. cf. 1 Ep. Petr. 2.21. 1-2. cf. Joannem Damascenum, *De fide orthodoxa,* PG 94, 1076B. 27. cf. Manuelem Palaeologum, *Dialogus* III, 36,*17*.
27. cf. Manuelem Palaeologum, *Dialogus* III, 36,*17*.

21-22. γνωμικὸν mg. codd.|
29-30. συνεκεκλήρωτο PVVa: συγκεκλήρωτο W.

strength. In such pleasurable ponderings, as far as I could, I forgot the painful side of things, but as for him, he was overcome by tears for he could not bear our separation.

Moreover he was greatly distressed by the thought that it would not be possible for him, brought up as he was in the fear of God, to ignore his oath and help us by cunning contrivance. This could not be for when once his promise was given there could be no deceit, no going back on his word. To him to break his promise would be to harm his soul, as being something quite unbearable. For his sense of self-respect was so highly developed that he honoured even those who were unjustly to cast their vote against him. Well then, although our wishes differed, after a time and with great difficulty I persuaded him by showing him that it would be better for me and for our father — who was not then with us — if he were to mix with both friends and enemies and pursue an equitable course towards both sides. So I argued that somehow I had a feeling that I should do something terrible if he were to disobey me and refuse to come out of prison. Thus he did not permit base actions even falsely to be attributed to him, for by reason of his nature, his intelligence and education, he greatly feared lest his reputation should be in any way tarnished. His brotherly love for me was so great that he considered it preferable to be with me rather than live in luxury with others and he found the jail which was almost like a tomb more sumptuous than a palace and darkness more desirable than the sun[25]. In short, life with me, albeit most terrible, was for him sweeter than all those pleasures in which I could have no part. But again he submitted easily to my decisions, so that it was sufficient simply to nod and he said, though not without bitter tears, that he would do as I wished. And although it was strange that I should be cheerful when he was weeping, I nevertheless rejoiced for him who wept and for the emperor his father. For I believed that he would be profoundly relieved by his son's return to life as it were. But when everybody thought that this plan was about to materialise, it did not take place, for 'God provided something better'[26] so that he did not need to come out of prison without me and our father. For what checked the plan's course was in fact the same reason that caused us all

25. Cf. Manuel's letter to Jagoup, Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 529, tr. p. 412.
26. Hebrews 11:40.

αὔξοντι. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ εὐφραίνειν δυνάμενα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐπελανθανόμην ὡς οἷόν τε τῶν ἀνιαρῶν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ κλάειν ἐπῄει τὴν ἐμὴν οὐ φέροντι μόνωσιν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο τόνδε προσῆγχεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐντεθραμμένῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φόβῳ, ὑπεριδόντι τοὺς ὅρκους μετὰ δόλου βοηθεῖν. Πόθεν; ᾧ μηδὲν ἀπατηλὸν μηδὲ παλινάγρετον ὅ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατένευσε καὶ τὸ ὅλως ἀμελεῖν δόξαι, ὧν καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν οὐδὲν ἦγε βελτίω οὔμενουν ἡγεῖτο φορητὸν τὸ παράπαν. Ἦν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον, ὅσον εὐλαβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς οὐ δικαίαν ἐξοίσοντας ψῆφον. Ἐναντίας τοίνυν οὔσης ἡμῖν τῆς θελήσεως, ὀψὲ καὶ μόγις αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισα, τὰ μὲν δεικνὺς ὡς βέλτιον ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ πατρί, οὐκ ὄντι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν τηνικαῦτα, εὔνοις τε καὶ δυσμενέσιν αὐτὸν συνεῖναι καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέρους διαπράττεσθαι τὰ εἰκότα, τὰ δ᾽ ἰσχυριζόμενος ὡς ἐμαυτόν πως αἰσθάνομαι πειρασόμενον δεινῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἢν ἀπειθήσας ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἔξοδον ἀποσείσηται. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος οὐ κατεδέχετο οὐδὲ γοῦν ψευδῆ τινα δόξαν τῶν οὐ καλῶν προστριβῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδεδίει καὶ φήμην ἀπᾴδουσαν τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσεως καὶ γνώμης καὶ παιδείας. Οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς f.9v ἀδελ|φικῶς εἶχεν, ὡς βέλτιον ἄγειν συνεῖναί μοι τοῦ μεθ᾽ ἑτέρων τρυφᾶν ἐξεῖναι· καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ δεσμωτήριον, τάφῳ παραπλήσιον, τῶν βασιλείων λαμπρότερον καὶ σκότος ποθεινότερον τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντα ἡδίω τὰ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, εἰ καὶ λίαν δεινότατα ἦν, τῶν γε ἡδέων ἐξῆς ἁπάντων ὧν οὐκ ἂν μετεῖχον αὐτός. Ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω πάλιν οἷς ἂν γνοίην ἐπείθετο, ὡς ἀρκοῦν εἶναι καὶ νεῦσαι, καὶ ἔφη πράξειν ὃ θέλοιμι οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ δακρύειν πικρόν. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ εἰ καὶ παράδοξον ἐκείνου κλάοντος εὐθυμεῖν, ὅμως ἔχαιρον δι᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν κλάοντα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν φύσαντα· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ παραμυθίαν ἐνόμιζον ἐκείνῳ μάλα λαμπρὰν τὴν τοῦ παιδός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀναβίωσιν. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὅτε πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ἐν χεροῖν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, τόδ᾽ οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἐξέβη, τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν κρεῖττόν τι προβλεψαμένου, ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξέλθῃ. Τὸ γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἀνακόψαν τὸ βούλευμα, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἡμᾶς διαδρᾶναι πάντας

6-7. Homerus, *Ilias* 1.526-7. 29-30. Ep. Hebr. 11.40.

---

2. ἐπῄει in ras. P: WVa: ἐποίει V.

to flee together from prison[27]. The details of this event are not the point here, nor will they subsequently be told, since in any case it would be strange to relate all these things to an audience already familiar with them.

It seems to me that these two instances have revealed what sort of a man he was to his parents, to us and to the other members of his family, just as the lion is said to be recognized by its claws. Our speech must proceed to succeeding events, omitting many of his deeds and touching only on a few of those which have the power to reveal his virtue. For these successes were not due to accident or luck or to advantages resulting from the adversities of time, such as made emperors of Nero and Sardanapalus, but they were the achievements of a man who lived by virtue. For though these may in themselves be very small yet they are far greater than successes achieved by luck which only catch the eye by their superficial brilliance. To be well-born and an aristocrat leading a conspicuous life, surrounded by a crowd of slaves and pluming oneself on one's great wealth and gaining glory in all those actions which enable erection of trophies taken from enemies and gain obeisance from every corner of the world — such might be he fate even of absurd people leading irrational lives. Between virtue and such people there is doubtless nothing in common. That is why he who is now with God and who in the past took care of you, whenever possible followed his own principles and openly spurned all those we have just described here and did not think them at all important. Nor did he think it right to be passionately excited by anything that was not essentially good, but he carefully followed all those principles which

27. The only source which gives details of their escape in the summer of 1379 is Ducas. He says that a certain Angelos nicknamed Diavoloangelos lowered them from the tower to the ground and then took them to Scutari by boat ((B) p. 45 = (G) p. 73). From there they sought refuge with the Sultan in Brusa. On 1 July with the help of the Turks they entered the City by the gate of Charisios. Andronicus fled to Pera to the Genoese with his family (Cydones, 222, *86-102,* p. 106; CBB I, 7, § 19, p. 67, II, pp. 320-1). Raffain Caresini (RIS 12, 2, p. 36) attributes John V's restoration to Carlo Zen. The *Vita Caroli Zeni* (RIS 19, 6, pp. 22-3) is somewhat vague. According to it, Zen, having failed to rescue John V from his imprisonment in 1377 (pp. 13-14), on the Senate's order returned to Tenedos in the summer of 1379 and there he was joined by an additional fleet of six ships. With the help of these «remque constantinopolitanam prospere ab his ex voto persolutam: genitore, superatis liberis, in sede locato». Caroldo (Cod. Marc. It. VII 2448 (10514) f.277^{v}) however clearly states that when Zen arrived in Constantinople

ὁμοῦ, ὅπερ ἀκριβῶς φράζειν οὔτε προκείμενον ἡμῖν οὔτ' ἂν εἴη λεχθῆναι σὺν τῷ καιρῷ, ἄλλως θ' ὅτι καὶ περίεργον εἰδόσιν ἅπαντα λέγειν.

Ὅστις μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν πρός τε γονέας καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν ἑξῆς ἅπασαν δυοῖν γε τοῖνδε τοῖν εἰρημένοιν ἀποδεδεῖχθαί μοι φαίνεται, ὡς ἐξ ὀνύχων, φασί, τὸν λέοντα. Μετιτέον δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω, παραδραμούμενον μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων, ὀλίγων δ' αὖ ἁψόμενον, τοιούτων μέντοι ὥστε τὴν ἐκείνου δύνασθαι ἀρετὴν φανερὰν ποιεῖν. Εἶεν γὰρ ἂν οὐ συμπτωμάτων, οὐ τύχης, οὐ καιρῶν ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς ἐναντίοις (ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Σαρδανάπαλον βασιλεύσαντα), ἀλλὰ κατορθώματα ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ συμβιοῦντος. Μείζω γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ταυτί, ὁπόταν ᾖ καὶ πάνυ σμικρά, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πάνυ λαμπρά, ὁπόσον ἄν τις ἐνθυμηθείη. Τὸ γὰρ εὐγενῆ τινα εἶναι
f.10 καὶ εὐπατρίδην καὶ περιφανείᾳ πολλῇ συζῆν καὶ ἀνδρα|πόδων πλήθεσι περιρρεῖσθαι καὶ πλούτῳ συχνῷ κομᾶν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἐνευδοκιμεῖν, δι' ὧν τε τρόπαια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἵσταται καὶ οἷς ἂν προσκυνοῖντο οἱ μετέχοντες ἐκ τῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης περάτων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀλλοκότοις ἔστιν, ὅτε παραγίνεται, ἀλόγιστα περαίνουσι τὸν αὐτῶν βίον· ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη δήπου κοινόν. Διὰ τοῦτό γε ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μὲν ἀπιών, ὑμῶν δὲ αὖθις ἐπιμελόμενος, τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ποιῶν ὅπου καὶ μᾶλλον ἔξεστι, τῶν μὲν ἀπηριθμημένων ἑξῆς ἁπάντων κατεφρόνει τε λαμπρῶς καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὰ μέγα ἐνόμιζεν οὐδ' ἠξίου γ' ἐπτοῆσθαι πρὸς οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ καλὸν οἴκοθεν, εἴχετο δὲ ἐπιμελῶς τῶν ὅσα ἂν βελτίω

---

22. ἀπηριθμημένων PVVa: ἀπηριθμουμένων W.

John V had already ousted Andronicus and was in command of the City with the exception of the fortress. Zen helped the Emperor with the clearing operation: «Ritrovo che Calogianni espulso chier Andronico suo figliolo havea recuperato limperio; esstado tutta la cita pervenuta a sua obedienza, eccetto la forteza presidiate da 300 Genovesi che vi erano dentro, la qual fu espugnata con laiuto de larmata Veneta. Et per ordine della Ducal Signoria ad instantia del imperator Caloiani ivi di continuo facevano dimora 4 galee in aiuto suo contra chier Andronico, il qual era sta recevuto in Pera et ivi fortificatossi». For the reliability of Caroldo see Chrysostomides, «Studies on Caroldo», 123-48. Cf. R-J. Loenertz, *Recueils de Lettres de Démétrius Cydonès* (*Studi e Testi 131*, Roma 1947), p. 114 n. 1.

could improve a perfect character born of perfect parents. He was brought up in this way and acquired this habit from the moment he was born so to speak. But let us take up our story.

The situation in the Peloponnese was grave and it was thought necessary that he should go there so that he might disperse existing misfortune as the sun disperses the mist[28]. When the decision was confirmed it greatly helped matters there, for the report spread everywhere as though on wings, and did what no man I think could have done so easily even though he had been on the spot. He had hoped that such would be the outcome, that is to say, that things would turn out well as soon as the Peloponnesians learnt about him. Shortly after he heard that events had turned out according to expectation he decided to remain in Constantinople until, having done all he could and fully accomplished his task, he should see the emperor his father restored to his customary state, free from all anxieties, enjoying a complete calm[29]. He hoped also to see his mother and her father and her two sisters released from prison where they were detained by the Latins[30]. However for various reasons I shall say no more about this.

Then, with God's help and by his own display of great courage, bravery, watchfulness, zeal and prudence in the war being waged at that time against the Latins, acting for the sake of his country, family and parents, he met with success and things came to a happy conclusion. In fact he performed all such deeds that showed him to be a good man; and it was for this reason in particular that the Peloponnese was bestowed on him, not so much as an inheritance or a share or a just reward for the gratitude he showed to his parents and the courage he displayed, or, in short, for all the rest of his virtues. For I think that it is a pleasure to mention the concurrence of events which make it possible to show that the Peloponnese was most rightly given to this man. For he took over the Peloponnese because the

---

28. Manuel Cantacuzenus, son of the Emperor John VI and the first Despot to rule the Peloponnese, died in Mistra on 10 April 1380 (Chron. Mor. § 11, pp. 404, 417 = CBB I, 33 § 11). For details on his life see Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 122-8.

29. Peace between John V and Andronicus IV was made in May 1381 but the situation remained precarious until 2 November 1382 when the Graeco-Genoese treaty was signed (Belgrano, «Documenti», pp. 133-40; Dennis, *The reign*, pp. 41-51).

ποιήσειεν ἄνδρα καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν γεγονότα. Οὕτω γὰρ πεπαίδευτο καὶ μεμαθήκει εὐθὺς τεχθείς, ὡς εἰπεῖν. Ἐπαναληπτέον δὴ τὸ προκείμενον.

Εἶχε τὰ πράγματα κακῶς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ ἐδόκει δεῖν αὐτὸν ἰέναι παρ' αὐτήν· λύσαι γὰρ ἂν τὰ δεινὰ παραγεγονότα, καθάπερ ἀκτὶς ὁμίχλην· καὶ τὸ δόγμα κυρωθὲν τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐκεῖ βεβοήθηκε πράγμασι, τῆς φήμης ὥσπερ ὑποπτέρου πανταχόσε διαδραμούσης, ὅσον οὐκ ἄν τις, οἶμαι, ῥᾳδίως ἐπιδημήσας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλπίζων οὕτως ἐκβήσεσθαι, δηλαδὴ καλῶς τὰ πράγματα σχήσειν, τῷ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μεμαθηκέναι τὰ περὶ τοῦδε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μαθὼν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐκβεβηκότα, κέκρικεν ἔτι προσπαραμεῖναι ἕως ἂν πάντα γεγονὼς καὶ διαπραξάμενος ἴδῃ μὲν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πατέρα ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ὄντα, πραγμάτων μὲν ἀπαλλαγέντα τελέως, γαλήνης δὲ λευκῆς ἀπολαύοντα, ἴδῃ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῆς πατρὶ καὶ ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν οἴκαδε ἐπανελθοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐν ᾗ κατείχοντο παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρῶ γε πλέον· πολλῶν ἕνεκα

Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξέβη κατὰ σκοπὸν καὶ πέρας ἔλαβεν ἀγαθόν, f.10^{v} συναιρομένης τῆς θείας ῥοπῆς μετὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν αὐτὸν | ἀνδρίαν καὶ γενναιότητα, πολλὴν δ' ἐγρήγορσιν καὶ σπουδήν, πολλὴν δὲ φρόνησιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους τότε πολέμῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τε καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν φυσάντων. Μηδὲν οὖν ὅλως παραλιπόντι τῶν ὅσοις ἂν εἶχεν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, αὐτό γε τοῦτ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς φανῆναι, δέδοται τούτῳ ἡ Πελοπόννησος, οὐ μᾶλλον κλῆρος ἢ μερὶς ἢ γέρας δικαιότατον τῆς τε πρὸς γονέας εὐγνωμοσύνης, τῆς τε ἀνδρίας ἧς ἐπεδείξατο καὶ συλλήβδην τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἐνταυθοῖ συνδεδραμηκέναι ὅσαπερ ἄν τινι φίλον λέγειν, δι' ὧν ἂν ἔχοι δεικνύναι ταύτην δεδόσθαι τῷδε τἀνδρὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ δικαίου. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τήνδε, οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς τῇ προθυμίᾳ

13-14. cf. Homerum, *Odyssea* 10.94. 18. cf. Theodoretum Cyrrhensem, *qu. in Jud.* PG 80, 504A.

30. In the summer of 1376 Andronicus, suspecting that his father and brothers had escaped with the help of his mother, the Empress Helena, had her arrested. When he later fled to the Genoese of Pera he took her, her father John VI Cantancuzenus and her sisters with him as hostages (Cydones 222, *92-116*, p. 106-07; Chron. br. 162, §§ 13-4, pp. 208-9 = CBB I, 22 § 20, p. 183, II, pp. 320-1). For Helena's two sisters, Maria and Theodora, see Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 130-3, 134-5.

moment was opportune and the need great, rather than because of his father's wish or his own virtue. But it would seem that we have really used our words incorrectly. For if one were to speak the truth, it was not so much that the Peloponnese was given to this man but rather that he was given to the Peloponnese. For at that time this region possessed no strength to assist him, but on the contrary it needed his help, even though he too was then in such a position that he himself needed assistance, for he had come out of prison stripped of everything and for lack of time had been unable to make good his needs[31]. By this I mean the acquisition of military aid and sufficient money to be laid out on an adequate commissariat and, in general, on whatever happened to be needed. For trusting in David he did not set his heart upon great wealth, a full purse, gold and silver illegally amassed and worst preserved, even if such were to be found. He was prompted and aided by the divine will, but his uncle in the Peloponnese besought him and his grand-father requested his help[32]. And so in accordance with his father's decision, his mother's advice and my own, my beloved brother came to you, although it was hard for him to tear himself away from the arms of my father and my mother and I would add from mine too. We clung to him not only because we so greatly loved him, but also because in the past he had shown himself capable of giving help even in the most difficult times and circumstances from which we were indeed not yet completely free[33]. But since the better was bound to win, and has already won, and has by good fortune shone upon you, it was as if for your sake that a certain limb was forcibly broken off from the complete body. I shall keep silence on intervening events so as to avoid prolonging the story.

He was sent forth most excellently fortified and supported by his father's and indeed also by his mother's and everybody's prayers, for it was in this spirit that he had been brought up and had progressed from

31. It was not simply a question of time. After five years of civil war, which among other things involved buying military help from the Turks, the exchequer must have been depleted. According to Chalcocandyles ((B)63 = (D)58) John V offered Murad a tribute of 30,000 golden pieces. How accurate this figure is we cannot tell. But if Murad was not entirely satisfied with receiving Callipolis, plus a great quantity of money from Andronicus for the help he gave him in 1376 (Cydones 167, *15-17*, p. 38), it goes without saying that the Sultan must have demanded a substantial reward from John; cf. Cydones 442, *34-37*, p. 407.

32. His uncle was his mother's brother, Matthew Cantacuzenus, the eldest son

ξυμβαίνουσαν, οὔτε μὴν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπορίᾳ. ᾿Αλλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐχρησάμεθα. Εἰ γὰρ τἀληθέστερον εἴποι τις, οὐ μᾶλλον τούτῳ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἤπερ οὗτος δέδοται τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. Οὐ γὰρ βοηθεῖν ἐκείνῳ τότε δυνάμεως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ βοηθείας μᾶλλον ἦν χρῄζουσα, καίτοι κἀκεῖνος τοιοῦτος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ὥστε βοηθείας δεῖσθαι, ψιλὸς μὲν πάντων τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξελθών, μηδὲν δὲ δυνηθεὶς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν κτήσασθαι. Λέγω δὲ κτῆσιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀρκοῦντα χρήματα καλῶς ἀναλισκόμενα εἰς τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὅλως ὅπῃ συνοίσει· πλοῦτον γὰρ ὅτι πολὺν καὶ βαλάντιον ἁδρὸν καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ἀθροιζόμενα κακῶς καὶ χεῖρον φυλαττόμενα, ταῦτα δὲ εἰ ἔρρει, οὐ προσετίθετο καρδίᾳ τῷ Δαβὶδ πειθόμενος. Πλὴν οὐκ ἄνευ θείου νεύματος καὶ ῥοπῆς, δεομένου μὲν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ θείου, ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ πάππου, κρίσει μὲν τῇ τοῦ πατρός, γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ τῆς μητρός, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ ἡμετέρᾳ ἧκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ ποθούμενος, καίτοι οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπέσπαστο τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πατρικῶν τε καὶ μητρικῶν, προσθήσω δ'
f.11 ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν, οὐ διὰ τὸ φίλτρον μόνον ἡλίκον ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ | διὰ τὸ δεῖξαι τοῖς φθάσασιν οἷος ἦν ἐκεῖνος βοηθεῖν ἐν χαλεπωτάτοις καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν, ὧν οὔπω τελέως ἦμεν ἀπηλλαγμένοι. ᾿Αλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἔδει νικῆσαι, ἤδη καὶ νενίκηκε καὶ ἐπέλαμψεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, βίᾳ τι μέλος ἐκραγὲν τοῦ καθόλου σώματος ὑμῶν ἕνεκα. Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ σιωπῶ τὸ τοῖς διηγήμασι συνεκτείνεσθαι φεύγων.

Οὗτος εὐχαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἁπάντων, ἄριστα καὶ πεφραγμένος καὶ ὡπλισμένος προεπέμπετο, αἷς καὶ ἀνετρέφετο καὶ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω προὐχώρει ἐξ ὀνύχων

11-13 Psalmi 62,10. 26ss. Eusebius, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, PG 24, 965 D; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 252 n. 15.

---

16. ὑμᾶς PWVa: ἡμᾶς V.

---

of John VI. For details on both Matthew and John VI see Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 35-105, 108-22.

33. Theodore left Constantinople to take up his post in Mistra sometime in the autumn of 1382, presumably after the Graeco-Genoese negotiations which confirmed his father to his «customary state» but before the actual signing of the treaty on 2 November 1382 (Chron. Mor. § 13, pp. 418-20; Cydones 241, *42-5*, p. 145; Loenertz, «Pour l' histoire», pp. 231-3; Dennis, *The reign*, pp. 47, 58-9). See also above p. 16.

his childhood days until he stood an adult at your side. With these prayers he left his country and put out to sea; with these prayers he set sail while his relatives at the same time wept and bade him farewell; with the help of such prayers he hoped to win God's aid. He did nothing without prayer, whether it was thought or action, and that is why he achieved everything in difficult and fearful situations which automatically changed as it were, in his favour.

We must certainly relate everything and in detail, all the evils which the cities here suffered from the neighbouring Latins and the Turks when they attacked either by land with cavalry or by sea with pirate vessels[34]. In this way the land of Pelops was being destroyed. This happened when my mother's brother, the ruler of this land of Pelops, a man of noble character who knew how to govern well, died without an heir and was succeeded in government by his brother[35]. Although he was an exceedingly kind man, of higher rank[36] and older than his deceased brother, he was hindered in performing his task — for the truth must be told — by his audacious son[37] and this is why everything was continually falling into ruin. Why do I need to tear open your wounds by using my narrative as if it were claws? Besides it would be pointless to relate all this to you who are well acquainted with these events. Therefore let us take for granted those early events and set out in correct sequence as our main theme those which refer to the period after his arrival in the Peloponnese.

When he disembarked from on board, he was gladly received by all, and as he set about his task he retained their love for him — which is something rare, for usually people's love diminishes — and he continued to shine over all and be of service to all. And everybody felt

---

34. For the Turkish expansion in the Aegean in the first half of the fourteenth century see D. Jacoby, «Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305-1332): Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello», *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 15 (1974), 246ff.; E. A. Zachariadou, «The Catalans of Athens and the beginning of the Turkish expansion in the Aegean area», *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 21 (1980), 821-38.

35. At the death of Manuel Cantacuzenus on 10 April 1380 his eldest brother Matthew assumed power until Theodore arrived in Mistra. See above p. 15.

36. Matthew was acclaimed emperor by his father John VI Cantacuzenus. See Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, p. 113ff.

37. Most probably the Despot John Cantacuzenus who made a bid for the Despotate. G. Gerola, «L'effige del Despota Giovanni Cantacuzeno», *B*, 6 (1931), 379-387; Dennis, *The reign*, p. 116 n. 40. Manuel, as Gemistos Plethon remarks in

ἁπαλῶν ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ μεθ ὑμῶν εἶναι. Ταύταις ἀνήγετο ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀφεὶς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς πέλαγος, ταύταις ἀπέπλει, τῶν συγγενῶν δακρυόντων ἅμα καὶ προπεμπόντων, ταύταις καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν ἤλπιζε σχήσειν. Οὐδὲν ἢ ἐλογίζετο ἢ τὸ παράπαν εἰργάζετο τούτων ἄνευ· διὸ καὶ πᾶν ἤνυε τῶν τε δυσκόλων καὶ φοβερῶν ὥσπερ αὐτομάτων εἰς τοὐναντίον μετενηνεγμένων.

Πάντα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕκαστα φράζειν, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τῶν γειτονούντων Λατίνων αἱ ἐνταυθοῖ πόλεις, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ὑφίσταντο κακά, ἐπιόντων μὲν ἵπποις ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐπιόντων δὲ ναυσὶ λῃστρικαῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους, καὶ τίσιν ἡ τοῦ Πέλοπος κατετρίβετο τρόποις, τοῦ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ, τοῦ καὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς τοῦ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος, ἀρίστου μὲν ὄντος τὴν φύσιν, καλῶς δὲ ἄρχειν εἰδότος, ἤδη τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδί τινι, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, ὄντος μὲν πάνυ χρηστοῦ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπερτέρου καὶ τὸν χρόνον γεραιτέρου, ὑπὸ δὲ παιδὸς θρασέος — δεῖ γὰρ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν — κωλυομένου ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντων ὁμοῦ φθειρομένων, αὐλητοῦ, φασίν, Ἀρραβίου. Τί δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀναξαίνειν ὑμῖν τὰ τραύματα ὥσπερ ὄνυξι χρωμένους τοῖς διηγήμασιν; Ἄλλως τε καὶ περιέργως ἂν ὑμῖν λέγοιτο, τοῖς ἐν πείρᾳ
f.11v τῶν πραγμάτων γεγονόσι| καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδόσιν. Ἐκεῖνα τοίνυν ἐν μέρει κείσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος προτεθεικότος ἑξῆς ἂν εἴη ῥητέα.

Ἐκεῖνος τῆς νεὼς ἀποβὰς καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁπάντων, οὐ προϊὼν ἠμαύρωσε τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔρωτα (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σύνηθες οἶμαι ὡς τὰ πολλὰ πανταχοῦ γίνεσθαι), ἀλλ᾽ ἦν λαμπρύνων ἄχρι παντός, ἅπαντας ποιῶν εὖ, καὶ πάντες ἦσαν ἐν ἑορταῖς ἄνευ

---

17. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 42; II, 147.

---

6. μετενηνεγμένων PVW: μετενενηνεγμένων Va | 10. ἡ τοῦ (τοῦ in ras.) P: W: τοῦ deest in VVa | 11-12. prima vers. ἀδελφοῦ, ἀρίστου μὲν ὄντος τὴν φύσιν, καλῶς δὲ ἄρχειν εἰδότος, τοῦ καὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς τοῦ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος PVVa: sec. vers. per s.s. α´β´γ´ P: sec. vers. adopt. W | 21-23. mg. στᾶσις α^{η} codd.

---

his *Protheoria* (p. 67,*20-22*), is careful to moderate his criticisms, though undoubtedly he regarded Matthew's grants to his son as contrary to the wishes and policies of the Palaeologi.

in festive mood, except of course our enemies and those leading utterly stupid and wicked lives, thinking that they had you in a drag net designed to prevent those inside from escaping. Such people knew nothing except to take delight in the misfortunes of others, for they were extremely malicious as well as stupid, and they were themselves caught in this kind of situation later on and were deceived in their hopes[38]. It would have been more to the point if they had rather feared for their own safety, but those who escape from the big enemies swallow their smaller opponents, as happens with fish which are caught alive. Such fish when trapped in nets often ignore, as it were, their own safety and being bigger can eat the smaller fry, and in turn are themselves eaten by bigger ones still. In this way they regard the net as a wind-fall, so to speak, in that they fill their belly with food in an easier way than in the open sea. And so the situation of all our enemies changed and instead of inspiring others with fear they themselves were terrified and those well-versed in harming others went into hiding. Good men rejoiced that was now possible to pursue without fear the pursuits enriching cities enjoying profound peace — for certainly without question peace is better than wealth. But then the nephew, whom we have just mentioned, attacked my brother by various means, allying himself with Turks and Latins. Suddenly he spread confusion everywhere, springing like a hurrican out of calm seas, for the situation had not yet sufficiently consolidated its turn for the better. His threats were terrifying but his actions no less so, inasmuch as he had a mercenary army and was supported by a considerable number of local people. He also possessed fortresses which had been given to him by his father. In a word, though his courage may have been misplaced and he fought for an unjust cause, in other respects he was not ignoble and he had a subtle and infinitely resourceful mind. In despair everybody advised Theodore to return, since it would be impossible to stand against such an accumulation of evils. But he was ready to die rather than do what did not befit his rank and life, nor would he take any action that would conspicuously dishonour his parents and all his family and above all those who admired his virtue and his character. He believed that with the help of God, the prayers of his parents and by reason of his own ability he would be able to defend himself justly

38. Cf. Cydones 251, *6-14*, p. 156.

μέντοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀβελτηρίᾳ τε καὶ κακοηθείᾳ πολλῇ συζώντων, ἐκείνων μὲν ἅτε δοκούντων εἴσω σαγήνης ὑμᾶς ἔχειν μηδὲν τῶν ἔνδον ἐώσης φεύγειν, εἶτα τῆς ἐλπίδος διαμαρτόντων, τούτων δὲ μηδὲν εἰδότων ἢ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων συμφοραῖς ἐντρυφᾶν, ὄντων καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴσαις, ὅπερ καὶ λίαν κακόηθες καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον εὔηθες· χρεὼν γὰρ ὂν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τρέμειν. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἥττους ἤσθιον, ὅσοι τοὺς μείζους διέφυγον, κατὰ τοὺς ἐζωγρημένους ἰχθῦς, οἳ πολλάκις εἴσω κύρτων κατειλημμένοι, τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτούς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ τοὺς βραχυτέρους οἱ μείζους ἐσθίοντες καὶ αὖθις τούτους οἱ μᾶλλον μείζους ἕρμαιον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἡγοῦνται τὸ θήρατρον, ὡς ῥᾷον ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς γαστέρας ἐμπιπλῶντες τροφῆς ἤπερ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πελάγους. Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ φοβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ φρίττειν μεταβαλόντων, τῶν δὲ κακουργεῖν εἰδότων εἰς χηραμοὺς καταδύντων καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν σκιρτώντων, ὡς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐξὸν ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν, δι᾽ ὧν ἂν εὐπορώτεραι γένοιντο πόλεις εἰρήνης βαθείας ἀπολαύουσαι, ἣ δὴ κρείττων ἀτεχνῶς καὶ εὐπορίας ἁπάσης, ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτῷ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, πολλοῖς ἐπέθετο τρόποις, Τούρκοις καὶ Λατίνοις ἑαυτὸν μίξας. Εὐθὺς οὖν πάντα συνέχεεν ἀπὸ γαλήνης αἰγὶς φανείς, οὔπω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω παγέντων. Ἦν δὲ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς φοβερὸς καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις
f. 12 οὐδὲν ἥττων, ἅτε ξένην ἔχων στρατιὰν | καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς καὶ κατέχων φρούρια ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ δεδομένα καί, συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, πλὴν τοῦ παρὰ λόγον θρασύνεσθαι καὶ ἀδίκως μάχης ὑπάρξαι, τἄλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀγενὴς ὢν οὐδ᾽ ἀμέτοχος μηχανημάτων καὶ ποικιλίας. Πάντων οὖν ἀπεγνωκότων καὶ συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ φεύγειν ὡς οὐ δοκοῦν δυνατὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην σύρροιαν ἀνθίστασθαι κακῶν, ὁ δὲ τεθνάναι πρόθυμος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὃ μὴ προσῆκε τῷ τε ἑαυτοῦ σχήματι καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταύτῃ γε περιφανῶς καταισχῦναι τούς τε γονέας καὶ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ προσέτι τοὺς τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάζοντας καὶ φύσιν τὴν ἐκείνου. Ἐπεποίθει δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φυσάντων εὐχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τρόποις, τῷ τε ἀδίκως τοῦ ἐπιόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν

19-20. cf. Demosthenem, *Philipp.* I, 8(42).

---

2. ὑμᾶς PVW: ἡμᾶς Va | 13. χηραμοὺς W: χειραμοὺς PVVa. | 21. ἥττον sed *ω* s.s. PVW: ἧττον Va | 24 s.s. ἀγενὴς (ex ἀγεννὴς) P: Va: ἀγενὴς sed sec. *ν* s.s. V: ἀγεννὴς W. 31 τοῦ ἐπιόντος in ras. PV: W: τὸν ἐπιόντα Va |

against an aggressor seeking unjustly to take over his realm. In all other matters his opponents had the advantage over him.

While things were balanced on a razor's edge, as the saying is, the divine wisdom governing this universe and regulating what is expedient for each of us, removed this young man from life, thus not permitting him to do what he had in mind, or, one might say, to do what was against his own best interest. Thus Providence established your Despot as the Despot of the whole Peloponnese, a title which his deeds confirmed. His actions and thoughts were all such as would generally befit a ruler. And when this became known those who were ignorant of his ability to rule were forced to come to their senses and practically all changed round and now did what was pleasing to him and might be said to be equally pleasing to God[39].

Then the rumour spread everywhere that the admirable so-and-so had accomplished this and that good deed for all, not seeking his own interests but the interests of others, for the deeds of the greatest cannot be hidden. Many peoples from far and near flocked together towards him. For virtue is desirable and surpasses the magnet in its capacity to attract good men. And by land and sea they came to stay and it was good to watch what was happening then[40]. The newcomers settled in the uninhabited lands, the forests were cut down and the whole country was cleared and many wild places which were useful to no one except robbers were reclaimed and under the expert hands of husbandmen were cultivated with trees and every kind of plant. Moreover about 10,000 Illyrians left their homes together with their children, women, property and cattle and occupied the Isthmus, pitching their tents there and laying down their bedding, acting as their own messengers, so

39. This passage (pp.111-19) deals with Theodore's struggle against the rebel archons. According to the inscription of Parori it lasted for five years (c. 1382-1387). Although his cousin, the leader of this rebellion, died sometime during this period, his followers continued to fight. In 1387, however, Theodore with Turkish assistance succeeded in crushing the rebels and confiscating their lands (Loenertz, «Res Gestae», pp. 208-10; «Pour l'histoire», pp. 228-9; Chron. Mor. § 14, pp. 420-1). These successes are reflected in Cydones's letter of 1391 (442, *59-69*, p. 408).

40. The word ἔθνη was used by the Byzantines with reference to foreign nations. Immediately after this passage Manuel becomes more specific by naming the Albanians. Symeon (p. 43, *13-14*) mentions, though without specifying destination, that there was an exodus of Byzantines from the Turkish occupied Thessalonica in this period. Whether some of these people sought refuge in the Despotate we cannot tell.

σφετεριζομένου αὐτὸν δικαίως ἀμύνεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἐπλεονέκτουν.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τούτοις ἱσταμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ, φασίν, ἡ καλῶς ἰθύνουσα σοφία τόδε τὸ πᾶν καὶ πρυτανεύουσα τὸ συμφέρον ἑκάστῳ τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἐκεῖνον τῶν τῇδε μεταστήσασα οὐκ εἴασε πράττειν τὰ κατὰ νοῦν, ἄλλος δ᾽ ἂν εἶπε τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ, τὸν δὲ δεσπότην ὑμῖν δεσπότην πάσης ἔδειξε τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἔργοις βεβαιοῦντα τὴν κλῆσιν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅλως πράττων ἦν ἢ διανοούμενος, ὃ μὴ προσῆκεν ἐπιεικῶς ἄρχοντι. Τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον γεγονὸς σωφρονεῖν ἠνάγκαζε καὶ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας, καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν πάντες ἠλλάξαντο τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ τούτῳ κεχαρισμένον, ταὐτὸ δ᾽ εἰπεῖν καὶ θεῷ.

Διαδραμούσης οὖν πανταχόσε τῆς φήμης, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα θαυμαστὸς τὰ καὶ τὰ εἰργάσατο πᾶσιν ἀγαθά, οὐ ζητῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἑτέρων (τὰ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων οὐ κρύπτεται), συνέρρεον ὡς αὐτὸν ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν τε ἐγγυτέρω καὶ πορρωτάτω. Ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ ποθεινὸν καὶ παρελαύνει μαγνῆτιν λίθον ἐφελκομένη τοὺς ἀγαθούς. Ἐκόμιζε δὴ καὶ ἤπειρος καὶ θάλασσα τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας καὶ ἦν ἡδύ τι θεάσασθαι τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ πραττόμενον. Ὤκουν οἱ νεήλυδες f.12v τὰς ἀοικήτους καὶ ἄλση κατετέμνετο| καὶ ἐκαθαίρετο χῶρος ἅπας πολλά τε αὖ τῶν ἀνημέρων χωρίων, ἅπερ οὐδέσιν ὑπῆρχε χρήσιμα πλὴν λῃσταῖς, ἡμεροῦτο καὶ ἐδέχετο φυτὸν καὶ παντοδαπὸν σπέρμα, εἴκοντα χερσὶ γηπόνων ἀροῦν εἰδότων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ περὶ μυριάδα ἀθρόοι μετοικήσαντες ἅμα παισί τε καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ θρέμμασι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν κατέλαβον· αὐτοῦ δὲ πηξάμενοι τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰς κλισίας ἐκτείναντες αὐτοὶ τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἦσαν ἄγγελοι· οὕτως ἐξαίφνης παρεγένοντο. Εἶτα, μηδόλως μελλήσαντες,

---

3. Homerus, *Ilias* 10.173: cf. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 28.

---

1. σφετεριζομένου ult. sex litt. in ras. PV: W: σφετερίζεσθαι Va | αὐτὸν PVW: καὶ αὐτὸν Va. 14-15. prima vers. συνέρρεον ἔθνη πολλὰ ὡς αὐτὸν τῶν τε ἐγγυτέρω καὶ πορρωτάτω P: συνέρρεον ὡς αὐτὸν τῶν τε ἐγγυτέρω καὶ πορρωτάτω ἔθνη πολλὰ V: sec. vers. per s.s. α´β´γ´ PV: sec. vers. adopt. WVa. | 15-16. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | μαγνῆτιν (ex μαγνίτιν) W: μαγνίτιν PVVa. 23. μετοικήσαντες litt. *η* in ras. P: Va: μετοικίσαντες VW.

sudden was their arrival[41]. Then without delay they sent a magnificent embassy to the man they had come to, in order to find out what his intention towards them was and they hinted that they wished to receive his consent to their entry that they might settle and obey his wishes[42]. And he received their ambassadors gladly and through these ambassadors he then summoned their leaders to his presence. When they came he welcomed them most kindly and having given them a taste of the sweetness of his nature he won them over to his side. He did not take any hostages, he did not demand guarantees, but simply contented himself with their oaths, although most of his entourage were apprehensive of their numbers and suspected that the different customs of their life might lead to trouble. Therefore they not unreasonably advised him against allowing them into the country. But he trusted them, for he was by nature trustful, for what a man has he gives and he judges others according to himself, and he put forward irrefutable arguments, namely, that even if the Illyrians wished to do them harm they would never succeed in this and therefore they would never try, and so he persuaded himself and the rest of them[43]. Events turned out as he had thought and insisted. This incident confirms that by his faith, by his confidence and by his sound assessment he possessed three qualities: trust, courage and judgment. He thus acquired a large army which was experienced in hardships and excelled in warfare, and in so doing he had used only three qualities: incisive judgment, a persuasive tongue, and a kind nature — each of these an inexhaustible treasure.

Well then, to have the Illyrians, in addition to the forces of the Peloponnese which in themselves were not small, was of the greatest assistance. He arranged all this according to his own plan and far

---

41. The exact date of this event is not known. The text seems to imply that Theodore was in the vicinity of the Isthmus when the Albanians arrived. If so, this would suggest a date between 25 November 1394 and 4 June 1395, that is, some time between Neri Acciaiuoli's death, when Theodore occupied the lands belonging to the castellany of Corinth, and the capture of Saint Supéran by Theodore's general, Demetrius Raoul, with the help of his Byzantine and Albanian troops. For Manuel makes it quite clear (pp. 123-25) that the Albanian presence in the Despot's army was the consequence of the immigration. The more recent article of Jochalas, «Über die Einwanderung der Albaner», p. 100 simply follows Zakythinos, *Le Despotat* II, p. 32.

42. This is the first piece of evidence we have about the settlement of the Albanians in the Despotate, though they had been used as mercenaries by Manuel Cantacuzenus in his campaigns c. 1350 (John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, ed. L.

πρεσβείαν πάνυ λαμπρὰν πρὸς ὃν ἀφικνοῦντο πέμψαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τί ποτ' ἂν εἴη τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεδήλουν ὡς βούλονται τοὐνδόσιμον λαβόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσιέναι καὶ μεῖναι καὶ ἅπερ ἂν ὅδε γνοίη πράττειν αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ καὶ δέχεται τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀσμένως καὶ καλεῖ παρ' ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων τουτωνὶ τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτοὺς παραγεγονότας δεξιῶς ἄγαν καὶ τῆς ἐμφύτου γεύσας γλυκύτητος, ἐπισπᾶται τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας· μήτε δ' ὅμηρα λαβών, μήτε ἐγγύας αἰτήσας, ὅρκοις ἠρκέσθη τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν, καίτοι περ οἱ πλείους παρῄνουν — οὐδὲν ἀλόγιστον λέγοντες — μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς δέξασθαι, τό τε πλῆθος δεδιότες καὶ τὸ ἔθεσιν ἑτέροις ἐκείνους ζῆν ὑποπτεύοντες αἴτιον σκανδάλου γενήσεσθαι. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ πιστεύει μέν, οἴκοθεν ἔχων τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι (ὃ γάρ τις ἔχει δίδωσι, καὶ ὅ ἐστι λογίζεται καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἶναι), πείθει δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, λογισμοὺς προτείνων ἀναντιρρήτους, ὡς, κἂν βουληθεῖεν ἐκεῖνοι κακόν τι δρᾶσαι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ βουλήσονται. Ἐξέβη δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζέ τε καὶ ἰσχυρίζετο. Καὶ τοῦτο τρία ταυτὶ προσμαρτυρήσειεν ἂν αὐτῷ, ἀξιοπιστίαν, ἀνδρίαν, φρόνησιν, τῷ πιστεῦσαι, τῷ θαρρῆσαι, τῷ καλῶς στοχάσασθαι. Κτᾶται τοιγαροῦν στρατιὰν τοσαύτην, οὐκ ἄπειρον μὲν τραυμάτων, ἀγαθὴν δὲ τὰ
f.13 πολέμια, μηδὲν προσ|αναλώσας ἢ τρία ταῦτα, γνώμης ὀξύτητα, γλώττης δεινότητα, τρόπων χρηστότητα· ἕκαστον χρῆμα ἀκένωτον.

Ἔχων γε τοίνυν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῇ τῆς Πελοποννήσου δυνάμει, οὐ σμικρᾷ καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν οὔσῃ, προσθήκην ὅ τι μεγίστην, ῥᾷον ἤ τις ἂν ἐνόμισεν, εὖ τὰ κατὰ νοῦν διέθετο πάντα. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μικρά τις

---

8. μήτε PVWVa: μητ' Ẇ | 13-14. γνωμικὸν mg. codd.

Schopen, Bonn 1832, v. 3, p. 88). Judiciously Zakythinos (*Le Despotat* II, p. 31 n. 6) abandoned his earlier view (I, p. 101ff.) according to which Manuel Cantacuzenus was the first to settle the Albanians in the Morea (unfortunately repeated by Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 227). Manuel's description of the reaction of Theodore's entourage would suggest that the establishment of the Albanians in the Despotate was a new experience for the Byzantines. See also below p. 152 n. 76.

43. Manuel tries here to vindicate his brother's policy towards the Albanians. The reported argument may be tendentious but Theodore's handling of the problem was shrewd and realistic.

surpassed the expectation of others. For if a small additional assistance helps to tip the scales, what could not be achieved by a substantial force which was also experienced in warfare? And although they themselves were enthusiastic and good soldiers he continued to improve them. Moreover by telling them and showing them what they had to do he added to their prosperity and indeed their affection for him increased. Although I would not attribute every achievement to them, what he did with their help bears witness to this. Was this not so? Did he not seize the cities of his enemies, some by siege and blockade, others at the first shout of war, but did not the greater number of them anticipate the attack of his army and surrender to it?[44] Did he not put fear into the hearts of those who hitherto themselves inspired fear? Before all these achievements did not his enemies, over-confident with the victories they had won before his arrival, cower and feel ashamed, seeing that their audacity and the circumstances of their presumption had suffered a reversal? Did they not supplicate? Did they not prostrate themselves? Did they not restore all the places they had snatched away and more? In addition did they not pay tribute, something so unexpected that even in a dream it would have struck them as impossible and would have made them rise up from their beds? Did they not consider it preferable to be free from danger rather than to seize possessions as they had previously done? Did they not use their weapons to serve people who thought it was a recreation to plunder our undefended land?[45] As for the prince's extreme arrogance which was exposed by these very events I will keep silent[46]. Was he not strutting about in a haughty manner? Did he not soar above the clouds? Did he not reach the limits of extreme boastfulness? This man who appeared great by reason of his logical faculty, his speech and bearing, whom many thought to be a high-minded man, was in a short space of time proved otherwise by his own deeds. For on one occasion he met a small contingent of our people some of whom were mounted

---

44. This seems to refer to the second rebellion of the Greek archons that broke out in 1393/4 when Bayezid I switched his support to them against Theodore. It ended with their defeat in the summer of 1395; see below p. 124 n.48.

45. i.e. the Navarrese and the Turks.

46. Pierre Lebourd de Saint Supéran was one of the leaders of the Navarrese company. He was made captain of the principality of Achaia by Jacques de Baux (1381-3) prince of Achaia and the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, while Mahiot de Coquerel became its vicar general. At the death of Mahiot he succeeded

ἐπιθήκη τὸ πᾶν ἰσχύει πολλάκις, ἡ τοσαύτη μὲν τῷ πλήθει, καλὴ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ, τί οὐκ ἂν ἔδρα; Οὐ γάρ, καίτοι καθ' αὐτοὺς προθύμους τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς στρατιώτας ὄντας, οὐ προσέθετο ποιῆσαι τούτους βελτίους ἀλλ' ἐπηύξησεν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλτρον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ χρηστότερα πάντα, λέγων καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τὰ πρακτέα. Καὶ δηλοῖ τὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένα, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῖς ἀνατίθημι. Πῶς γάρ; Οὐ γὰρ δυσμενῶν εἷλε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν πολιορκήσας τε καὶ παραστησάμενος, τὰς δ' αὐτοβοεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, τὰς πλείους δὲ καὶ φθασάσας τὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔφοδον καὶ πρὶν τοῦ ταύτην ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι παραδοθείσας; οὐ δεδιότας ἔδειξε τοὺς δεδιττομένους; οὐ πάντα ταῦτ' ἐποίει τοὺς δυσμενεῖς θρασυνομένους ταῖς πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας νίκαις κατεπτηχότας φαίνεσθαι καὶ κατῃσχυμμένους, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ θράσους αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἐφρόνουν πρὸς τοὐναντίον τραπέντων; οὐ παρῃτοῦντο; οὐ προσεκύνουν; οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν ἅπαντα μετὰ προσθήκης τὰ ἡρπαγμένα; οὐ φόρους προσεδίδοσαν, οἳ καὶ ὄναρ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες ἀπεπήδων ἂν τῆς κλίνης τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ βληθέντες; οὐ τοῦτο ἥδιον αὐτοῖς ὡς κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττον ἢ τὸ εἰληφέναι πρόσθεν; οὐκ ἐδούλευον μεθ' ὅπλων οἷς γε τὸ ληΐζεσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἄνευ ὅπλων πανήγυρίς τις ἐδόκει; Καὶ σιωπῶ τὴν πρίγκιπος ὑπερηφανίαν τὴν πολλήν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλεγχθεῖσαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀκροβατῶν; οὐχ ὑπερνεφῶν; οὐκ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἀφῖκτο ἀλαζονείας
f.13v ἁπάσης; Ἀλλ' ὁ τοιοῦτος μὲν τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, | τοιοῦτος δὲ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν φαίνοιτο μέγα φρονῶν ἄνθρωπος τοῖς ἔργοις ἄλλος δέδεικται, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ γεγονότος. Ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐντυχών, ὧν τινες ἐφ' ἱππαρίων πονηρῶν,

1. ἐπιβολὴ et mg. γρ. ἐπιθήκη P (V v. supra p. 6-7): ἐπιθήκη Va: ἐπιβολή W | 5. λέγων PVW: λέγων τε Va | 6. αὐτῶν PWVa: αὐτὸν V | 13. κατῃσχυμμένους sec. litt. *μ* in ras. P: W: κατῃσχυμένους VVa | 20. πρίγκιπος VW: πρίγγιπος PVa.

him (Loenertz, «Hospitaliers», §§ 10, 14, 38, pp. 341, 342, 350). He was invested with the title of prince of Achaia by Ladislas of Naples sometime between 23 July 1395 (Misti 43, ff.74-74v = *Régestes* I, p. 208, no. 882) and 1 March 1396 (letter of attorney issued by Saint Supéran on that date bearing title (Commemoriali 9, f.15v, ed. L. de Mas-Latrie, *BECh*, 58 (1897), 104 — for «indictione» 'incerta' *read* «quarta» and for year MCCCLXXXV *read* MCCCLXXXXV).

on wretched and useless horses and who I think first drew their swords against the enemy. Then he, the rash, the haughty, the mighty, attacked them with a great number of horsemen, surrounded and protected by many heavy-armed infantry and encouraged by the multitude of his men and his iron-clad contingent, and he did not even think of engaging in close fighting but was, I assume, the first to flee before the struggle, thinking that it was high time to make full use of spurs and whip rather than spear and sword. Therefore he pulled his reins and turned his horse in the opposite direction and fled before those who might seek to pursue him and he was in full flight until someone caught him, not with the help of a spear but with his bare hands. Who was this man? A general? Not at all. Had the prince of Achaia used his hands as he should have used his weapons I do not think he could have been caught by anyone else except the general of the army who was an excellent and a courageous man. He was the good Raoul who is still with me and when he was here everyone noted that he was the best of men[47]. Meanwhile as the prince lacked wings he had no time to lose, so he fled without turning round. At this stage it would not have been wise for the general to pursue him further, for he had left his army behind. Did he then become prisoner to one of our nobles or to any of our valliant men? Not at all. Nor was it by anyone having any claim to courage. But on hearing the bugle give the signal to the army to attack he shamefully surrendered pleading only for his life[48].

But what is worse certain noblemen who against all decency were against us were found among the prisoners - an occurrence which created astonishment. For various reasons it should have been the reverse. What were these reasons? They were related to us by blood; they had received benefits from us without giving anything in return; they had enjoyed no small honours, and they had taken on oath of their own free will — even a peasant when he swears binds himself

47. Demetrius Raoul. See S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine family of Raoul — Ral(l)es,* Athens 1973, pp. 60-1.

48. Pierre de Saint Supéran with a large contingent of men was captured at the battle of Leontarion by Byzantine and Albanian troops under Demetrius Raoul on 4 June 1395 (Chron. Mor. § 18, pp. 405-6, 423-4). Among the captives were the sons of Asen Zaccaria, the grand-constable of Achaia (1395. VII. 23[et 24], Misti 43, f.74^{v}). Anxious lest this defeat might lead to the destruction of the principality of Achaia and put at risk her own possessions in the Morea, Venice intervened to secure Saint Supérant's release (1395. VII. 13, Misti 43, f.72 = *Régestes* I, p. 207, no. 879; 1396. VII. 6, Misti 43, f.139^{v}). See also above, Introduction II, p. 19 n.20.

καὶ τότε πρώτως, οἶμαι, γυμνώσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὸ ξίφος, ὁ θρασύς, ὁ γαῦρος, ὁ πολύς, ὁ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων ἐπιὼν καὶ πολλοῖς ὁπλίταις περικυκλούμενός τε καὶ περιστοιχιζόμενος καὶ θαρρῶν πολυχειρίᾳ καὶ σιδηρᾷ φάλαγγι οὐδὲ γοῦν συμπλακῆναι τότε ὑπέστη, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρῶτος ἐτράπετο πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς, ὥραν εἶναι οἱ νομίσας ἀντὶ δόρατος καὶ ξίφους κέντροις τε καὶ μάστιγι καταχρήσασθαι. Καὶ τοίνυν ἐς τοὐπίσω ταῖς ἡνίαις τὸν ἵππον στρέψας, δοὺς τὰ νῶτα τοῖς διώκειν βουλομένοις, ὁ δὲ ἔφευγεν ἕως εἷλε τοῦτόν τις ταῖν χεροῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰχμῇ. Οὗτος δὲ τίς; ὁ στρατηγός; οὐδαμῶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐχρῆτο ταῖν χεροῖν, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν, καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὁ τῆς 'Αχαΐας τότ' ἄρχων, μὴ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ἑλεῖν μηδένα ἕτερον τῶν ἁπάντων πρὸ τοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνος. Ἦν γὰρ πάντα ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος· Ῥαοὺλ γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρηστός, ὃς καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ μένων ἔτι καὶ ἐνταυθοῖ παραγεγονὼς οὐδένα λέληθε βέλτιστος ὤν. 'Επεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος πτερῶν ἐδεῖτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων, οὐκ ἐξῆν τῷ στρατηγῷ μακρὰν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν καταλιπόντι τὴν τάξιν. 'Αλλ' αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖνος γεγονώς, τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐγενῶν ἢ τῶν ἀνδρείων ὅλως ἐγένετο; Οὔμενουν οὐδενὶ οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὔτε τῶν ὅλως μετεχόντων φρονήματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῇ σάλπιγγι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ πρακτέα σημαίνοντι αἰσχρῶς αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν ἱκετεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς μόνης.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐγενεῖς τινες ἄνδρες παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἅπαν ὄντες τότε καθ' ἡμῶν, ἑάλωσαν· ὃ δὴ καὶ παρεῖχε θαυμάζειν· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἐχρῆν πολλῶν ἕνεκα. Τίνων; Προσήκοντες ἦσαν ἡμῖν καθ' αἷμα· εὖ πεπόνθασι παρ' ἡμῶν μηδὲν προεισενεγκόντες· τιμῆς ἀπέλαυσαν οὐ σμικρᾶς· ὅρκους ἑκουσίους παρέσχον, οὓς κἂν
f.14 ἀνὴρ ἀγροῖκος ὀμωμοκὼς ᾐ| δέσθη τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ διετήρησεν

---

25. μηδὲν PVVa: μηδενὶ W | 26. σμικρᾶς PVW: μικρᾶς Va | 27. ἀνὴρ ἀγροῖκος PVW: ἀγροῖκος ἀνὴρ Va.

for ever and strictly keeps to his oath — but they took offence without having been wronged in any way whatsoever. Instead of their being punished, which was in our power to do, they again received help from us — they who had been attacked by the very prince with whom they soon after joined forces against us — a base and impious act. They ought to have spurned their own life for our sake when need arose. But it would seem that they never thought of their duty, but regarded everything as of no importance, while a wise man would have realised that even the smallest thing must not on any account be overlooked. Yet in addition to his many and greater and finer monuments the fact that he treated them nobly and humanely and allowed them to return home, without any hope of the gratitude that was his due, also stands as a splendid memorial to him. And though future events might be clearly deduced from past experience yet this man's inherent goodness led him to do good to his enemies. So though the past presaged the future he was concerned only with what was good and was anxious that he should always act in accordance with the dictates of duty. He feared little those who had no wish to be virtuous but he pitied them greatly. For nature has a dynamic quality which makes it difficult to resist her pull. His nature urged him towards the good and also he habitually strove after the good. Thus both worked together to foster his desire to do entirely what was right.

What can one say about those who had deserted to the enemy, joining the wolves, as one might say, desirous of devouring their kinsmen's flesh, though in fact they were only devouring their own? It would take too long to detail their actions and it is better to omit what would only plunge into gloom those who are already suffering. In short, as it was not right for our enemies to perpetrate such evil, so it is no doubt improper for me to speak against people. But I will just say what persuaded them grow insolent towards us, though they had no complaint against us, except that they did not wish to be ruled by the man who had the right to govern them.

You know of course of that Turk, I mean Bayezid[49], the ruler of Asia, the master of Europe, an unbearable man, who could not tolerate

---

49. Bayezid I, surnamed Yildirim (Lightning), succeeded his father Murad I in 1389. Cf. Manuel's description of him in his *Dialogues*, pp. 17, *30-31*; 50, *1-7*; 94, *10-4*.

ἀκριβῶς· προσκεκρούκασιν ἠδικημένοι μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν· ἀντὶ τοῦ δίκην δοῦναι παρόν, οἱ δὲ καὶ βοηθείας αὖθις ἐτύγχανον παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου πολεμούμενοι, ᾧ γε μικρὸν ὕστερον καθ᾽ ἡμῶν συνεμάχουν αἰσχρόν τι καὶ ἀνόσιον μάλα δρῶντες. Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλογῆσαι, τούτου δεῆσαν. Οἱ δὲ μηδέν, ὡς ἔοικε, προσῆκον ἐνθυμηθέντες οὐδὲν ἢ λῆρον πάντα ἐνόμισαν, ὧν καὶ τὸ σμικρότατον οὐκ ἂν ὑπεροπτέον ἐδόκει οὐδ᾽ ὁτῳοῦν νοῦν ἔχοντι. Ἀλλ᾽ ᾧ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ λαμπρὸν ἔστη τρόπαιον πρὸς πολλοῖς καὶ μείζοσι καὶ καλλίοσιν ἑτέροις, εὐγενῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς χρησάμενος οἴκαδε τούτους εἴασεν ἀπελθεῖν, καίτοι μηδὲν ἐλπίζων παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εὔγνωμον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ μέλλον σαφὲς ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἤδη πεπραγμένοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πεφυκὼς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὐκ ἠγάπα εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὖ ποιήσειε. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν προλαβόντων σαφῶς δηλούντων ὅπως ἔσται τὰ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνα, ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς μόνον ἔβλεπε τὸ καλὸν καὶ τί ἂν πράξας μὴ παρεξέλθοι τοῦ γε καθήκοντος· τούς τε οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἐδεδίει μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα, ἠλέει δὲ ὡς μάλιστα. Βίαιον γάρ τι τὸ πεφυκὸς κἂν ἐκεῖνο πρός τι βιάζηται, οὐ δύναταί τις ῥᾳδίως ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸ πεφυκὸς εἰς ἀγαθὸν εἷλκε καὶ προϋῆν ἡ τοῦ βελτίονος ἕξις. Ἄμφω δὲ ταυτὶ συνδεδραμηκότα κατεῖχεν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν πάντας βούλεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτομολησάντων εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μετὰ τῶν λύκων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, γενομένων καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων μὲν ἐσθίειν τὰς τῶν ὁμοφύλων σάρκας, ἐσθιόντων δὲ τὰς ἰδίας, τί ἄν τις λέγοι; Μακρὸν τἀκείνων διεξελθεῖν καὶ βέλτιον ταῦτα παραδραμεῖν ἤπερ ἐπιτίθεσθαι μελαγχολίαν νοσήσασιν ἀνθρώποις. Ὅλως δέ, εἴπερ οὐ καλὸν ἦν ἐκείνοις τὰ κάκιστα δεδρακέναι, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ δήπου φέρεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἐρῶ δὲ τί τὸ πεῖσαν αὐτοὺς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν θρασύνεσθαι μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντας ἢ τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἄρχεσθαι ὑφ᾽ οὗ γε δίκαιον ἦν.

Ἴστε που τὸν Πέρσην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Παγιαζίτην λέγω, τὸν Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, τὸν Εὐρώπης κύριον, ὃς ἀφόρητός τις ὢν οὐδὲ φορητὸν

---

2. αὖθις ἐτύγχανον PWVa: ἐτύγχανον αὖθις V | 7. οὐδ᾽ ὁτῳοῦν om. Va. 11. παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ... ἀπολήψεσθαι PVW: ἀπολήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν Va | 17-18. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 18. καθέλκη et mg. γρ. βιάζηται P: καθέλκη VWVa.

calling a Christian a ruler. It was Bayezid who was the cause of their insolence, for it was by relying on his strength and on the hostility of neighbouring Latins that they menaced our possessions. Yet, encouraged by both parties, this most hostile monster attacked our possessions and according to the habit of swine when they sharpen their fangs, he goaded them on and was in turn urged on by them[50]. Enough.

I wish to speak of things in general rather than of particular individuals. I say that the Christians who deserted to our enemies, the infidels, are clearly mad, rather they behave worse than those who are diseased in mind[51]. For even if such madmen were to thrust a sword into their bodies they would not harm their souls nor would they arouse hatred in others, but on the contrary they would call forth compassion from onlookers. But any rational man ought to feel great hatred towards these men because they willingly defile their souls with the aid of their full senses. They seek for that which originally spurred them on to join the enemies of our faith; I speak of wealth and glory and whatever are considered to be the pleasures of life. It would have been hard for them to achieve this had they not appeared acceptable to our enemies to whom they had deserted. And it would certainly have been impossible for them to appear acceptable to them unless they first took part in those things in which our enemies delight. This means that they have to live according to barbarian customs and must willingly defile their souls by unlawful deeds. A worse fate will befall these people than that of madmen, for they will be judged deserving not of compassion but of great hatred, for they have deliberately given themselves up to wickedness, damaging their souls rather than their bodies. But the most abominable thing of all is the fact that they considered it necessary to betray their souls, insult their honour and indeed that of the whole nation against which they have been persuaded to act, otherwise from the outset their actions would have profitted them nothing nor would their reward have lasted long. Thus like a bubble which is quickly inflated to bursting point those who thought that they would succeed in getting a well defended city from our enemies had their vain aspirations very rapidly pricked without

---

50. The period of co-operation between Theodore and the Turks, initiated under Murad in 1387, came to an end in 1393 when the new Sultan Bayezid I switched his support to the Navarrese and to the Despot's rebel archons.

51. For an example of Byzantine deserters to the Turks at this period, see N.

f.14v ἡγεῖτο ἄρχοντά τινα χριστιανὸν| ὀνομάζεσθαι. Οὗτος ἦν ἡ τούτων θρασύτης· τούτου τῇ δυνάμει θαρροῦντες καὶ πρός γε ἔτι τῇ δυσμενείᾳ τῶν γειτονούντων ἡμῖν Λατίνων τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιχείρουν. 'Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ δυσμενέστατος θήρ, ἀμφοτέροις θαρρῶν τοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπέθετο πράγμασι καὶ θατέρῳ θάτερον μέρος καὶ ἠκονᾶτο καὶ παρωξύνετο κατὰ τοὺς τῶν χοίρων ὀδόντας. Εἶεν.

Βούλομαι δὲ καθόλου λόγον εἰπεῖν τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα παραδραμών· φημὶ δή, τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας χριστιανοὺς τουτοισὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀσεβέσι περιφανῶς μαίνεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χείρω ποιεῖν τῶν βεβλαμμένων τὰς φρένας. 'Εκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐὰν καὶ ξίφος ὤσωσι καθ' αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἔβλαψαν, καὶ μίσους μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἐλέους δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὁρώντων τύχοιεν ἄν· τούτους δὲ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη μῖσος ἔχειν ἐν σωφρονοῦσιν, ἐθελοντὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μολύνοντας ψυχὰς διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων. 'Επιθυμοῦσι γὰρ εὑρεῖν ὧν ἕνεχ' ἧκον τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἐχθρούς — πλοῦτόν τε λέγω καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὅσα γε τῷ τῇδε βίῳ τερπνά — ἀμήχανον δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν μὴ ἡδεῖς φαινομένους ἐκείνοις, πρὸς οὕς γε ηὐτομόλησαν· ἡδεῖς δὲ τούτοις φαίνεσθαι οὐ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐστί, μὴ πρότερον ἅπαντα διαπραττομένους οἷς ἐκεῖνοι χαίρουσι· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι πάντως βαρβαρικῶς τε ζῆν καὶ ἀθεμίτοις πράξεσιν ἑκοντὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μολύνειν ψυχάς. Τὰ τούτοις ἄρα συμβαίνοντα τὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὑπερηκόντισε, καὶ μίσους μὲν ὅ τι πολλοῦ, ἐλέους δὲ οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι πᾶσι κριθήσονται τῷ τε γνώμῃ τοῖς κακοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδιδόναι, τῷ τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ σώματος βλάπτειν. Τὸ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τὰ ψυχὰς προδιδόναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν καθυβρίσαι καὶ πᾶν τὸ γένος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ἀνθ' ὧν δὲ ταῦτα πράττειν προάγονται ἢ οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῖς παραγίγνεται ἢ οὐκ ἐπὶ μακρῷ παραμένει ὁπόταν καὶ παραγένηται. Ὅθεν καὶ δίκην
f.15 πομφόλυγος ὀξέως ἄγαν ὑπερφυσώμενοι — λέγω δὲ τούς γε| δοκοῦντας παρὰ τοῖς ἀσεβέσι χώραν εὑρηκέναι καλλίστην — ὀξέως ἄγαν καὶ διαρρήγνυνται καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τελευτᾷ τὸ κενὸν φρόνημα.

---

6. παρωξύνετο PWVa: παροξύνετο V | 12. τούτους (ex τούτοις) PV:W: τούτοις Va | 13-14. μολύνοντας PVW: μολύνουσι Va | 16. γε om. Va.

Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, «Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serres», *B*, 41 (1971), 7-9, 12.

having achieved anything. With good reason. Had they been slow in falling in with the enemy's wishes they would have been suspected by them and they would have been immediately despised on the pretext that they were out of line with them, and you can imagine how they would have been swept aside. If however they had easily complied with whatever the barbarians desired, for they would have wanted them to adopt their customs and laws and in all respects to corrupt their race, they would be justly hated for their savageness towards their own people. As for changing their customs and altering their way of life, they failed to obtain the approval of the Turks since they seem too ready to comply with their wishes. Because of this the enemy distrust the constancy of their newly acquired beliefs. And they are right. For how is it possible for a man to observe strictly what he has adopted on the spur of the moment when he so easily tramples down his life-long customs. Moreover to harm one's nation is to harm oneself, since the whole contains the part. And how can the man who harms himself do good to others? Moreover, if we were to consider this more carefully, such a man becomes loathsome even to his own conscience and how much more to everyone else? But why do I say this when I can make a more telling point? It was impossible for them to preserve their confession and faith in Christ inviolate. Why? Because in their union with Christ they promised absolute loyalty to him and enmity against the demons and yet afterwards they did the opposite. Rather, we should speak out more clearly and point out the enormity of the sin, for those who wish to live with the followers of Muhammad and side with the enemies of the faith against us are fighting against Christ, the source of our faith, and openly waging war against Him.

Something else also follows which is to be deplored, or rather, is exceedingly wicked. As a result of their intrigues they proclaim Muhammad a prophet. For that abominable man had promised victory against us to the peoples he deceived and enslaved. So when these renegates assist Muhammad's followers in their victory, they provide a pretext for them to believe in this lie. Therefore, as I have already said, those who desert to the infidel are obviously insane and behave worse than madmen and in fact as they thrust the sword, as it were, through themselves they are fighting their own souls rather than us.

Εὐλόγως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ νωθροί τινες εἶεν πρὸς τὸ 'κείνων θέλημα, ὕποπτοι γενόμενοι εὐθὺς καταπεφρόνηνται, ὡς μὴ συμβαίνοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ παρορῶνται, πῶς οἴει, εἰ δὲ ῥᾳδίως προστρέχοντες οἷς ἂν οἱ βάρβαροι βούλοιντο (βούλοιντο δ' ἂν καὶ ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν τούτους χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ γένος ἀφειδῶς διαφθείρειν), μισοῦνται μὲν μάλα δικαίως ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸ γένος ὠμότητος· τῆς δὲ τοῦ ἤθους μεταβολῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου μεταπτώσεως ἐπαίνων οὐ τυγχάνουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἅτ' εὐχερεῖς φαινόμενοι πρὸς ὅ τι ἄν τις βούλοιτο. Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πιστεύονται ὡς ἄρα γε μενοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις. Εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ εὐκόλως ἔθη καταπατήσας οἷς συμβεβίωκε, πῶς ἂν τηρήσειεν ἀκριβῶς ἅπερ ἐξ ὑπογυίου ἐδέξατο, καὶ αὖθις ὁ τῷ γένει κακὸς καὶ ἑαυτῷ δηλονότι, ἐν γὰρ τῷ καθόλου τὸ μέρος. Ὁ δὲ ἑαυτῷ κακὸς πῶς ἂν ἑτέρῳ χρηστός; Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο θεωρήσαιμεν ἀκριβέστερον, ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι μισητὸς καθίσταται, καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἅπασιν; ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτά φημι ὅπου γε τὸ μεῖζον ἔχω δεικνύναι; Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν καὶ πίστιν οἷόν τε τηρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκραιφνῆ. Διατί; Ὅτι τῷ Χριστῷ συνταττόμενοι φιλίαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσχάτην, ἔχθραν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑπισχνοῦνται, εἶτα τοὐναντίον ποιοῦσι· μᾶλλον δὲ σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν χρὴ καὶ δηλῶσαι τὸ κακὸν ὅσον· τοῖς γὰρ τοῦ Μωάμεθ οὗτοι συνδιατρίβειν ἐθέλοντες καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν συνεφαπτόμενοι τούτοις ἔργων, ἐχθροῖς τῆς πίστεως οὖσι τῷ Σωτῆρι διαμάχονται, τῷ δεδωκότι τὴν πίστιν, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτῷ πολεμοῦσιν.

Ἕπεται δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον οὐ καλόν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ λίαν κακόν. Ἐξ ὧν γὰρ οὗτοι διαπράττονται προφήτην τὸν Μωάμεθ ἀποφαίνουσιν. f.15v Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ μιαρὸς τοῖς ἐξη|πατημένοις τε καὶ βεβιασμένοις ὑπ' ἐκείνου γένεσι νίκην καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπηγγείλατο· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἷς συλλαμβάνουσιν ἐκείνοις εἰς τὸ νενικηκέναι, ἀφορμὰς παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν τῷ ψεύδει. Ὥσθ' ὅπερ ἔφθην εἰπών, οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτομολοῦντες πρὸς ἀσεβεῖς περιφανῶς μαίνονται καὶ τῶν βεβλαμμένων τὰς φρένας χείρω ποιοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὸ ξίφος ὥσπερ ὠθοῦντες μᾶλλον ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς ἤπερ ἡμῖν διαμάχονται.

10-11. γνωμικὸν mg. PW: C^η <μείωσαι> γνωμικὸν Va: om. V.

But let us take up our speech and follow events in proper sequence. Both the Sultan and those who had deserted to him goaded each other to evil acts and like a man in a boat who uses oars to move the ship by rowing and yet in turn is carried by the ship, so these deserters led the infidels against you — I wish this had never happened — and in turn they were led by them. Moreover they incited and goaded each other, spurring each other on. They invaded you as if you were children and they thought that they would destroy you by sweeping away all your possessions with great violence. They achieved nothing. The defender's virtue held out against them — virtue which doubtless he had in abundance to give to those who wished to prevail and who had the support of God.

Since all the machinations of those abominable devils against you were ineffective, they were faced with stalemate[52]. For they perceived that the barbarian army in Europe was wholly engaged there and could not easily and frequently march into the Isthmus while at the same time obeying the Sultan's commands. They therefore proposed to Bayezid that he should cross to Thrace from Asia Minor by way of the Hellespont[53] and when he had arrived there should proceed to Macedonia and encamp there. Thence he should then send an embassy to my brother summoning him to his presence, but at the same time he should use certain people to threaten him secretly with terrible penalties should he disobey and refuse to come. On the other hand the sultan should publicly promise him numerous and great rewards, some through his ambassadors, others in long letters. Among his many promises there should be one stating that he would not bring any pressure whatsoever to bear upon him but on the contrary he would honour him greatly and would let him return to his land as soon as possible and that in future he would not in any way annoy him.

This was the proposition which they put to the Sultan. He was persuaded and did everything more maliciously even than they had

52. Chalcocandyles names one of the rebel archons: Mamonas, lord of Monemvasia (Epidauros Limera) whose possessions had been confiscated by Theodore ((B)80 = (D)75; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 244ff.). The date of this event occurred sometime in 1391/2 (CBB I, 32 § 28, p. 233; II, pp. 346-7). At the time Theodore enjoyed considerable power in the Peloponnese.

᾿Αλλὰ γὰρ ἐχώμεθα τῶν ἑξῆς ἐπαναλαβόντες τὸν λόγον. Παρώξυνον ἀλλήλους πρὸς τὰ κακὰ ὅ τε σατράπης οἵ τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτομολήσαντες, καὶ ὥσπερ τις χρώμενος ἐν ἀκατίῳ κώπαις ἄγει μὲν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τὸ σκάφος, φέρεται δ᾿ αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ σκάφους, οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καθ᾿ ὑμῶν τε ἦγον, ὡς οὐκ ὤφελε, καὶ ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνων αὖθις ἐφέροντο. Καὶ τοίνυν ὑπ᾿ ἀλλήλων παρακαλούμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους παροτρύνοντες καὶ οἱονεί τι κέντρον γινόμενοι ἑκατέροις ἑκάτεροι, ὡς ἐπὶ παῖδας ἐφ᾿ ὑμᾶς ᾖεσαν καὶ ᾤοντό γε καταστρέψεσθαι παρασύροντες πολλῇ τῇ ῥύμῃ τὰ καθ᾿ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντα· ἤνυον δ᾿ ὅμως οὐδέν. ᾿Αντεῖχε γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ πολεμουμένου, ἧς δήπουθεν τὸ περιὸν τοσοῦτον ἦν παρ᾿ αὐτῷ ὡς διδόναι πανταχοῦ κρατεῖν βουλομένῳ εὐμενὲς τὸ θεῖον ἔχοντι.

᾿Επεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα μὲν διαπραξαμένοις τοῖς κακοδαίμοσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐχώρει τὰ καθ᾿ ὑμῶν, ἐδόκει δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβαρικὴ δύναμις, πολλὰ κύκλωθεν πράγματα ἔχουσα, μὴ δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως εἰσιέναι τὸν ᾿Ισθμὸν καὶ συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ σατράπου βουλεύμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀμηχανίᾳ κατασχεθέντες εἰσηγοῦνται τούτῳ διαβῆναι τὸν ῾Ελλήσποντον ἐξ ᾿Ασίας ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ ταυτηνὶ παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδημῆσαι, κἀκεῖθεν μεταπέμψασθαι διὰ πρεσβείας τὸν ἐμὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπειλῆσαί τε δεινὰ ὑπούλῳ τρόπῳ διά f.16 τινων, ἂν μὴ παραγένηται ὑπακούσας· φανερῶς δὲ οἱ πολλὰ καὶ | μεγάλα ὑποσχέσθαι, τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, τὰ δὲ μακραῖς ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾿ ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἀνιάσειν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα, τιμήσειν δὲ ὡς μάλιστα καὶ παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηδαμῶς μηκέτι διενοχλήσειν αὐτῷ περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἁπάντων.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην· ὁ δὲ ἐπείσθη, καὶ πάντα πράττει κακοηθέστερον ἤπερ αὐτῷ συνεβούλευον. Εἰ γὰρ

---

2. ἀλλήλους πρὸς τὰ κακὰ in ras. PV: W: ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς Va | 5. ὑμῶν (ex ἡμῶν) P: W: ἡμῶν VVa | 8. ὑμᾶς (ex ἡμᾶς) P: W: ἡμᾶς VVa | 18. ἐς PWVa: εἰς V.

---

53. That is *via* Callipolis which had been in Turkish hands, for the second time, since 1376/77 when Andronicus IV handed it over to them in return for their support against his father (Cydones 167, *15-22*, p. 38).

advised. If one invites an evil man to do evil or a good man to do good, this is called 'inviting a Lydian into a plain'[54]. Summoned to do evil against the Romans and against the human race this man Bayezid actually hastened to plot this treachery with vicious malignity. And what other course was open to him? He would have flown had he been able to grow wings, that agent of Satan who has no other occupation than to weave designs against the faithful. Indeed by nature this man Bayezid was a schemer of deceit, but in the end he was punished for the injuries he had inflicted on the children of the faithful[55]. Moreover donning the skin of a lion or of a fox and frequently exchanging the one for the other he thought he would be able to conceal his own aims. But these were quite obvious: to capture the ruler and take over his cities by force and to destroy the souls and bodies of the inhabitants.

His plan however did not escape my brother. How could it? But fearful lest my brother might seem more fond of his life than of his people or his honour, he faced danger for the sake of his people. Nor was it the first or the last time that he found himself in this situation. When honour, family, and indeed the welfare of the whole community was at stake he cared little, so to speak, for his own life, for he knew well that a ruler's good cannot be separated from the good of his subjects. And so he regarded their happiness as if it were his own and he always came to their assistance so that things should go well with all. Thus he considered their own interests as if they were his own and his actions benefited others while he bore the suffering and readily endured those dangers which bring glory.

He was possessed of powers of reasoning which would have befitted men like Plato or Alexander, he was a father to you, a friend, a teacher, a provider, a guardian, a ruler, one who while he lived both in action and in name admirably acted as physician, shepherd, steersman and in many other roles which succour men and, in short, lacked no virtue. And so, neglecting his own safety for the safety of his own people and indeed for the safety of most other people, he arrived at the Sultan's court. Earlier on he had given him no hope that he would come, but on the contrary had abandoned every intention of going, so

54. i.e. asking somebody to do what he does naturally and with alacrity.

55. He is alluding to Bayezid's capture at the battle of Ankara on 26 July 1402 and his subsequent death in captivity. For details see M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, Bucarest 1942; Variorum Reprints 1977.

φαῦλον ἐπὶ φαῦλα καλέσει τις ἢ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐπ' ἀγαθά, Λυδὸν εἰς πεδίον φασί. Καὶ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ῾Ρωμαίων ἢ καὶ κοινῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκεκλημένος ἔτρεχε, πολλῇ κακοηθείᾳ ῥάψας τὸν δόλον. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν οὐχ ὅπως τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέτεσθαι, εἴπερ ἐνῆν φῦσαι πτερὰ ὁ τῷ Σατὰν ὑπηρετούμενος, ᾧτινι τοὔργον οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ μηχανὰς κατὰ τῶν πιστῶν πλέκειν; Καίτοι καὶ οὗτος οἴκοθεν οὐδὲν ἢ δόλους ὤδινεν, ἕως ἐδεδώκει δίκην ὧν εἰς τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐξύβρισε παῖδας. Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν καὶ τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν ὑποδὺς καὶ συχνῶς αὐτὰς ὑπαλλάττων κρύπτειν ἐνόμιζε τὸν αὑτοῦ σκοπόν. ῾Ο δὲ καὶ λίαν σαφὴς ἦν, ἵνα γὰρ ἕλῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου παραστήσηται πόλεις καὶ ψυχὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματα διαφθείρῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ διέλαθε· πῶς γάρ; δέει μέντοι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι μᾶλλον φιλόζωος ἢ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ φιλότιμος εἶναι δέχεται τὸν κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν· ὃς οὐ τοῦτον πρώτιστον ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὕστατον ὑπέστη. Αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆς αὑτοῦ ζωῆς ὀλίγον ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἁπλῶς τοῦ γιγνομένου παντός, εἰδὼς καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκριβῶς, ὡς τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων συμφέρον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄντικρυς κεῖται. ῞Οθεν τὴν ἐκείνων εὐδαιμονίαν ἰδίαν εἶναι νομίζων τοῖς πᾶσι πάντα ἐγίνετο, ἵνα πάντες εὖ πράξαιεν.
f.16v Οὕτω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ἐνόμιζέ τε καὶ ἔπραττεν | εὖ ποιῶν καὶ τὰ ἀλγύνοντα ἔφερε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ δόξης κινδύνους ῥᾳδίως ὑφίστατο.

῞Ολος οὖν γέμων λογισμῶν, ὧν κἂν Πλάτωνες κἂν ᾿Αλέξανδροι, ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῖν, ὁ φίλος, ὁ παιδευτής, ὁ φροντιστής, ὁ κηδεμών, ὁ δεσπότης, ὁ τὸν τόπον ἀκριβῶς διασῴζων, ἡνίκα σὺν ὑμῖν ἦν, τῶν τε ἰατρῶν, τῶν τε ποιμένων, τῶν τε κυβερνητῶν, τῶν τε σωτηρίων ἐξῆς ἁπάντων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ προσρήσεων καί, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν εἴποιμι, ᾧ μηδὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ παρῆν, ἀφειδήσας ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ πλείστων ἑτέρων, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην μὴ δοὺς αὐτῷ πρότερον θαρρεῖν ὡς ἀφίξεται, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἀπαγορεύσας

1-2. Libanius, *Epistl.* 617,2; 1183,1; 1426,6: *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 509. 3-4. cf. Homerum, *Odyssea* 3.118. 6. cf.Euripidem, *Andromache* 66. 8-9. Plutarchus, *Vita Lysandri* 7; *Moralia* 190E; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 216.

3. προκεκλημένος PVVa: προσκεκλημένος W | 10. αὑτοῦ PVW: ἑαυτοῦ Va | 16-17. ὀλίγον ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ in ras. P: VWVa | 26. ὑμῖν (*ex* ἡμῖν) P: W: ἡμῖν VVa.

that being unexpected he might be more welcome, while the unexpectedness of the arrival would prove more gratifying to the Sultan. Besides he would show him that he came of his own free will and that he had not been taken in either by flattery or by threats. Well then, he found him at Serres and in the Sultan's company he met us who had already arrived there[56]. For I had got there five days earlier, driven by compelling necessity which I had to obey for the sake of saving our subjects from disaster. Yet this was strictly against my ruling, namely that both of us should never be simultaneously at the Sultan's court. For our sojourn there was not considered safe since in the past he had unjustly plotted to murder us[57]. But nevertheless the thing so greatly feared happened. For I thought that he had stayed at home, while he too thought the same about me, so as though at a given signal, we set out from our respective homes, if I remember correctly, on the same day, or if you like at the same hour. But then something by far worse happened. For the Turk had with him those who in some capacity or other were leaders of the Christians, I mean those who were accustomed to appear before him[58]. For he had carefully gathered them together wishing utterly to destroy them all; while they thought that they ought to go and face the danger rather than do so later on as a result of disobeying his orders. They had indeed good reason for thinking that it was dangerous to be in his presence, especially together at the same time. For they were quite aware of the nature of this man and of his intentions concerning them, but on the other hand to refuse to obey his command was considered to be an even worse hazard. For he was not a man to suffer the insult of their disobedience, nor would he be content to hold his peace but he would desire their destruction and would certainly be able to accomplish this at will. And it was for this reason that they entrusted their fate to God and in sure confidence they chose this particular evil rather than the other and they set off on their way.

---

56. The date of this meeting is placed some time between autumn of 1393 and winter of 1394: Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 234-9.

57. This may allude to the story given by Ducas ((B)48-49 = (G)77), according to which Bayezid planned to have Manuel murdered at the end of his Asia Minor campaigns of 1390-1 in which the emperor had participated as a vassal. The Sultan's hatred of Manuel is also attested by Symeon, p. 45, *18-9*.

58. Chalcocandyles names two other rulers who were present at Serres, Constantine Dejanović and Stephen Lazarević ((B)80 = (D)74).

τὴν ἔλευσιν, ἵν' ᾖ καὶ πλέον ἡδὺς φανεὶς μηδόλως ἐλπιζόμενος, καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον χαρίσηται, δείξῃ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγεγονὼς καὶ οὐ ταῖς θωπείαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐξαπατηθείς. Εὑρίσκει τοίνυν τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς Φερραῖς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνον φθάσαντας σὺν αὐτῷ. Πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ἧμεν ἐλθόντες, ἀνάγκης δή τινος ἰσχυρᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι κινδύνων τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐκεῖσέ με τότε παραπεμψάσης, καίτοι τοῦτο ἡμῖν παντελῶς ἀπείρητο, λέγω δὴ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἅμα παραγενέσθαι. 'Εδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ταύτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιδημίαν παρὰ τὸν πάλαι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄδικον ὠδίνοντα φόνον. Συνέβη δ' ὅμως τὸ φοβερόν, ἐμοῦ μὲν οἴκοι μένειν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι νομίζοντος, κἀκείνου δ' αὖ πάλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ ἴσα λογιζομένου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος οἴκοθεν ἐξελθόντων ἡμέραν, εἰ μέμνημαι καλῶς, τὴν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει δέ γε, καὶ ὥραν. Συνέπεσε δέ τι καὶ χεῖρον· εἶναι γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέρσην τοὺς καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐξηγουμένους Χριστιανῶν, λέγω δὲ τοὺς εἰωθότας ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι. 'Εκεῖνός τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελῶς ἤθροιζεν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι πάντας βουλόμενος, αὐτοῖς τε δεῖν ἐδόκει f.17 παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε μᾶλλον δέξασθαι κίνδυ| νον ἢ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ ἐπιτάττοντος. Εἶναι μὲν γὰρ κινδύνου μεστὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα παραγεγονέναι πάντες εὐλόγως ἐνόμιζον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠγνόουν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνου διάνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς τούτου προστάγμασιν εἴκειν πολλῷ χαλεπωτέρου κινδύνου· μήτε γὰρ οἴσειν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐκ τῆς παρακοῆς ὕβριν, μήτ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον ἡσυχάσειν, ἀλλὰ θελήσειν μὲν αὐτοὺς διαφθεῖραι, θελήσαντα δὲ δυνήσεσθαι. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, κακοῦ κακὸν προελόμενοι ἥπτοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ, θεῷ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ σὺν ἐλπίσιν ὁδεύοντες.

---

8. ἀπείρητο (*ex* ἀπήρητο) P: ἀπήρητο VWVa | 10. φόνον PVVa: φθόνον W.

And yet they believed that on this occasion I and my brother would not both come into the presence of this most fierce monster. For they felt sure that this would not happen by chance but it would be determined by us. This conviction dispelled most of their fears and warding off any justified suspicion it encouraged them to go. For they knew that the man whose jaws gaped like Hades, who desired to swallow us all up in them, would naturally beware of behaving imprudently towards some of us as long as he did not have all of us in his hands, lest he might defeat his own ends. But when they arrived and saw my brother with me at the Turk's court they realized that what they had not expected had happened and they were struck speechless for a long time and did not utter a word to each other. When at length they had recovered themselves and were just able to say something, all they could do was to cry aloud 'We are lost'.

We had already assembled there (how indeed did everything conspire to raise our fears, as one might say, to the utmost) when the emperor, my nephew, newly arrived from Selymbria[59]. This threw us into such confusion that we utterly lost heart and felt that we must draw up our wills and testaments as is necessary for men who have no hope of life at all. In the words of our Saviour when he spoke to the disciples we were 'sheep in the midst of wolves'[60] and though we trod upon the heads of our enemies, who took the place of the serpents and scorpions, we were in no way harmed[61] but we walked with faith in Him who has the power to save. That monster then received my brother neither gladly (for he 'nursed his wrath in his breast until he had accomplished the deed')[61A] nor, so it seems, unpleasantly. For he felt ashamed, if not on account of his promises to my brother, at least of those to me, and also of being unable to contain his venom within him even for a while but of having to throw it up immediately. Therefore being so disposed he accepted a piece of advice — I will not say from whom; let it be from the devil whom he bore in his soul — namely, to put both of us and all our house to death and to kill the

---

59. John VII inherited Selymbria together with Daneion, Herakleia, Rhaidestos and Panidos from his father Andronicus IV, given him as an apanage by John V after their reconciliation in 1381/2 (Ducas (B)46 = (G)73) Manuel's feelings towards his nephew at the time are reflected in his *Dialogue* (Paris. gr. 3041, f. 99): ὁ... ἔχθιστος, ἢ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐμός, κακίστη μὲν μοῖρα 'Ρωμαίων, κακίστη δὲ αὐτοῦ, πράττει μὲν δι' ὧν ἂν δῆθεν ἄρξειν νομίζει, πράττει δ' ἀληθῶς δι' ὧν ἂν δουλεῦσαι

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν ἐκείνους περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς οὐχ ἅμα τηνικαῦτα ἀφιξόμεθα πρὸς τὸν δεινότατον θῆρα (οὐ γὰρ τὸ συμβὰν κατὰ τύχην ἀλλὰ τὴν κεκυρωμένην ἡμῖν ἠπίσταντο γνώμην), τὸ πολὺ τοῦ φόβου διεσκέδαζε καὶ παρεκάλει παραγενέσθαι δικαίαν ὑποψίαν ἀποκρουόμενον. Ἤδεσαν γὰρ ὡς ὁ δίκην ᾍδου κεχηνὼς καταπιεῖν τοὺς πάντας ἐφιέμενος, δεδιὼς εἰκότως ἔσται μὴ πρὸς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ τὸ βούλημα περισταίη, ἂν κατὰ πάντων ἀναισχυντήσῃ, οὐκ ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ἡμᾶς ἔχων. Ἀλλ' ἐλθόντες καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν σὺν ἐμοὶ παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ θεασάμενοι, γνόντες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκβεβηκὸς παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἀφωνίᾳ συσχεθέντες ἐπὶ μακρῷ οὐδέν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφθέγγοντο. Ὡς δ' ἀνενεγκόντες ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ῥῆξαι φωνὴν ἐδυνήθησαν, ταύτην δὴ πρώτην ἀφέντες· Διαπεφωνήκαμεν, ἐβόησαν ἅπαντες.

Τούτων δὴ συναθροισθέντων τηνικαῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν (ὢ πῶς πάντα συνέρρει καὶ πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀνεβίβασε τοὺς φόβους), νέηλυς ἐκ Σηλυβρίας παραγίγνεται καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς. Τοῦτο δὲ αὖ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συνέχεεν ὅσον καὶ ἀπειρηκέναι παντάπασι καὶ δεηθῆναι διαθηκῶν, ὃ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τοὺς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ζωῆς ἀποβεβληκότας. Καὶ ἦμεν ἄρνες ἐν μέσῳ λύκων, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῷ Σωτῆρι χρηματισθὲν πρὸς τοὺς
f.17v μαθητάς, πατοῦντες μέντοι | τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεφαλάς, ὄφεων τε καὶ σκορπίων ἄντικρυς τόπον διασῴζόντων καὶ μηδεμίαν παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπομένοντες βλάβην, πίστει πορευόμενοι τοῦ δύναμιν ἔχοντος σῴζειν. Ὑποδέχεται δή μοι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ θὴρ ἐκεῖνος οὔτ' ἀσμένως, εἶχε γὰρ μετόπισθε κότον ὄφρα τελέσῃ ἐν στήθεσιν ἑοῖσιν, οὔτ' ἀηδῶς τό γε δοκεῖν· ᾐσχύνετο γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑποσχέσεις, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὸ δόξαι μηδὲ γοῦν πρὸς ὥραν ἰσχῦσαι τὸν ἰὸν ἔνδον κατασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τοῦτον ἐμέσαι. Οὕτω τοιγαροῦν διακείμενος βούλευμα δέχεται (οὐκ ἐρῶ γε ὑπὸ τίνων, ἔστω δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἔφερεν) ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς τῶν

---

13. LXX Ezechiel 37.11. 19-20. Lucas 10.3. 20-23. Id. 10.19. 25. Homerus, *Ilias* 1.82-83.

---

15. εἴποι PWVa: εἴπῃ V | 16. παραγίγνεται (*ex* παραγίνεται) P: W: παραγίνεται VVa.

---

60. Luke 10:36.
61. Luke 10:19.
61A. Homer, *Iliad* 1,82-83

leaders of the Christians[62]. He had entertained this thought for a long time but it was now that he considered it essential to carry out this accursed deed so that, as he alleged, once he had cleared the ground of thorns (meaning us of course) it would be possible for his children to dance triumphantly on the land of the Christians without hurting their feet. He for his part was planning such things; but to the true Lord who is not a hireling this design concerning His sheep did not seem good. The Sultan ordered his general, a eunuch[63], to kill us at night and to act in no other way, otherwise he threatened to reward him with death. But God commanded him that he should by no means do this. And I think what happened resembled what once occurred in the case of Sarah[64]. As soon as the murderer knew, instead of punishing his disobedient general he even acknowledged his gratitude for having wisely deferred the deed, alleging that as soon as he had uttered the words he bitterly repented of having done so, a feeling which must certainly have emanated from none other than God.

So it was; and the monster was unable to wash the blackness from his soul; but first he disgorged his wrath by committing outrages against our men: he gouged out the eyes of our sailors, cutting off their hands and bringing into disgrace some of the officials[65]. And when he had vented his irrational passion in this way, he then very naively tried to win me over (me whom he had wronged and dishonoured with a thousand injustices) by greeting me with gifts and sending me home just as people soothe children by giving them sweets when they cry after they have been punished. His reasoning was obvious. He did this so that he might afterwards detain my brother, for he did not consider it safe to lay hands on both of us, which indeed he could have done.

---

62. According to Chalcocandyles ((B)80 = (D)75) it was John VII who incited Bayezid against Manuel II. This is confirmed by the Emperor in his *Dialogue on marriage (Paris. gr. 3041, f. 102ᵛ* = Loenertz, «Une erreur», pp. 384,391-2). He also mentions *(f.99)* the existence of an agreement between the Sultan and John, in accordance with which Bayezid was to hand the City over to John. Letters containing this agreement were seized by Manuel's soldiers when they stormed John's camp. This incident most probably refers to the 1390 events.

63. Chalcocandyles ((B)81 = (D)75) gives the name of the general. He was Ali son of Hayreddin. (See also F. Taeschner & P. Wittek, «Die Vezirfamilie der Ǧandarlyzâde», *Der Islam,* 18 (1929), 92-100. Presumably the entry in the messaria of Pera on 16 January 1392 (N. Jorga, *ROL,* 4 (1896), 77) about a gift to «Monuco (i.e. eunuch) Turco domini Jhalabi, capitaneo Grecie» must refer to him. I would like to thank Dr. E. Zachariadou for drawing my attention to this document.

εὐσεβῶν ἄρχοντας. Τοῦτο γὰρ βουλόμενος πόρρωθεν, τότε δεῖν ᾠήθη διαπράξασθαι τὸ ἄγος, ἵν', ὡς ἔφασκε, τὸν χῶρον αὐτοῦ καθάραντος ἐκ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, ἡμᾶς δὴ λέγων, ἐξῇ τοῖς τοῦδε παισὶ μὴ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν αἱμάττειν ἐν τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατορχεῖσθαι. 'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, τῷ δ' ἀληθινῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ οὐ μισθωτῷ ποιμένι οὐ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν προβάτων ἐδόκει. 'Εκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τῷ στρατηγῷ — εὐνοῦχος δ' οὗτος ἦν — προσέταττεν ἡμᾶς ἀνελεῖν νύκτωρ καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως πρᾶξαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἠπείλησεν αὐτῷ θανάτου τιμήσειν. 'Αλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπέταττεν αὐτῷ μηδαμῶς τοῦτο πρᾶξαι. Καὶ γέγονεν, οἶμαι, παραπλήσιον τῷ ποτε ὑπὲρ τῆς Σάρρας γεγενημένῳ· ὃ δὴ μαθὼν ὁ φονεύς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κακῶς ποιῆσαι τὸν παρήκοον, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χάριτας ὡμολόγει τῆς ἀγαθῆς μελλήσεως, φάσκων ὡς εὐθὺς εἰπὼν σφοδρῷ τινι βάλοιτο μεταμέλῳ, ὅς γε οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν ἦν ἢ παρὰ θεοῦ πάντως.

ἮΗν ταυτί· καὶ ὁ Αἰθίοψ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐδύνατο τὴν μελανίαν ἀπονίψασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐξεμέσας τὴν ὀργὴν δι' ὧν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξύβρισεν, ἐκκόψας μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ,
f.18 ἀποκόψας δὲ χεῖρας καὶ πολλά τισι τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐπαγαγὼν| εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν οὐκ εὔλογον θυμὸν ἀναπαύσας, ἔπειτά με λίαν εὐήθως, ὃν ἠδίκει καὶ κατῄσχυνε μυρίοις ἀδικήμασιν, ἐπειρᾶτο διαλλάττειν δώροις δεξιούμενός τε καὶ πέμπων οἴκαδε, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ παιδία τρωγαλίοις ἡμεροῦντες μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς κλάοντα. 'Ο δὲ λογισμὸς φανερός· ἵνα γὰρ μετέπειτα δήσῃ τὸν ἀδελφόν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλές, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας, ὅπερ ἐδύνατο μέν, θεόθεν δὲ τυφλούμενος ἠγνόει τοῦτο

10. Genesis 20. 11. 15. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 348.

5. ἐβουλεύετο PWVa: ἐβούλετο V | 13. βάλοιτο PWVa: βάλοιτο V.

64. Genesis 20.

65. The reference to sailors and officials would suggest that Manuel did not travel to Serres by land but went part of the way by sea, putting in either in Thessalonica or in Christopolis. Where the actual mutilation took place is impossible to say, since a number of the Greek crew may have escorted the emperor to Serres. We know of the existence of an imperial galley which used to sail between Thessalonica and Constantinople «κάτεργον τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ Θεσσαλονικαῖον» about 1404/5 (ed. V. Laurent, *REB*, 30 (1972), p. 157, 16). Whether this line was in existence during the Turkish occupation of Thessalonica and whether Manuel sailed, if at all, on this line we do not know.

But being blinded by God he did not see that he could have done this, just as he did not also perceive that he would no longer have my friendship. But he believed that he would deceive me with words of the outmost fatuity, even though he had committed outrages on our people and while he was still holding my brother in his hands he had demanded from him the more important cities as though they were his heritage and had issued commands which no man in his right senses would have given even to the meanest slave.

In this frame of mind he went through Macedonia and Thessaly and reached Central Greece where he pitched camp[66]. He wished to spend sometime here for he saw that the region was rich pasture land and excellent for hunting, besides being capable of providing the army with plentiful provisions. Then (I am not sure how long after) he almost completely revealed his true nature and in future more than ever gave full play to this, in no way restraining it, so that it was entirely laid bare. He then sent one of his executioners, a man named Omur[67] who far excelled others in brutality and cruelty, to demand from my brother the surrender of Argos[68] and a number of other places. For Monemvasia[69] was already occupied, having been given as vain ransom to the Sultan together with the neighbouring villages of considerable number and importance. For he had promised to release

66. On the way he captured the county of Salona (Amphissa) ruled by the widow of the last count don Luis Fadrique de Aragon. She was Helena the daughter of Matthew Cantacuzenus and grand-daughter of the Emperor John VI. She and her daughter Maria were sent to the Sultan's harem. Neri Acciaiuoli reported the event to his brother Donato on 20 February 1394 (Gregorovius-Lampros II, p. 652, no. 6; Chalcocandyles (B)67-9 = (D)61-63; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 245-6); *Ibid.*, «Une page de Jérôme Zurita», pp. 371ff.). For Helena and Maria in general see Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 160-3.

67. I have been unable to trace this Turkish official.

68. The city had been in Theodore's possession since December 1388. He had captured it at the time when the Venetians were about, or had already purchased it from Marie d'Enghien to prevent it from being occupied either by Theodore or Neri (1388.XII.12, Secreta E, f.46^{v} (= *Régestes* I, p. 179, no. 744); Commemoriali 8, f.134, ed. *Diplom. Ven-Lev.* II, pp. 211-13, no. 126. Despite the diplomatic and economic pressure Venice brought to bear on him and Neri, Theodore retained Argos until 11 June 1394 (1389.II.18, Misti 40, ff.157-158; 1389.V.31, Misti 41, f.6^{v}; 1389.VI.22, Misti 41, ff.16^{v}-17, (= *Régestes* I, pp. 180-2, nos. 748, 753, 757); Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 114, no. 7, 374-85, pp. 387-89, nos. 10, 12).

69. The city of Monemvasia once formed part of the estates of the Mamonas

δυνάμενος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνῆκεν, ὡς οὐχ ἕξει τὴν ἐμὴν ἔτι φιλίαν. 'Αλλ' ἐνόμιζέ με ἐξαπατήσειν λόγοις ἐσχάτης ἀβελτηρίας, τοσαῦτα μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑβρίσας, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν κατέχων ἐν χεροῖν ἔτι, πόλεις τε αὐτοῦ τὰς μείζους ὥσπερ τινὰς πατρῴας ἀπαιτῶν καὶ προσεπιτάττων ἃ οὐκ ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν δορυαλώτοις ἀνδράσιν.

Οὕτω τοίνυν διαθέσεως ἔχων διέρχεται μὲν Μακεδονίαν, διέρχεται δὲ Θετταλίαν, καταλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν 'Ελλάδα. Αὐτοῦ δὲ αὖ στρατοπεδευσάμενος καὶ διατρῖψαι βεβουλευμένος, ἅτε τὸν χῶρον εὔβοτον θεασάμενος καὶ πρὸς θήραν ἀγαθόν, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατῷ παρέχειν ἀφθόνως δυνάμενον, ἔπειθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ οἶδα πόστην, γυμνοῖ τὴν φύσιν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ χρῆται ταύτῃ λοιπὸν ἀνέδην ἤπερ προτοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁτῳοῦν περικαλύμματι ταύτην ἔτι κρύπτειν ἐδύνατο. Πέμψας οὖν ἕνα δήμιον πολὺ παρενεγκόντα τοὺς ἄλλους θηριωδίᾳ τε καὶ ὠμότητι — 'Ομούρης ὄνομα αὐτῷ — αἰτεῖ τὸ Ἄργος παρ' αὐτοῦ σὺν ἅμα πλείοσιν ἄλλοις. Μονεμβασία γὰρ ἤδη εἴληπτο λύτρον μάταιον δοθεῖσα πρὸς τοῖς πέριξ πολιχνίοις οὔτ' ὀλίγοις οὔτε φαύλην δύναμιν ἔχουσιν. 'Υπισχνεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπολύ-

3. Cf suum dialogum de matrimonio (*Par. gr. 3041, f. 98ᵛ-99:* ὅπως δὲ τοῖς ὑποσπόνδοις ἐχρήσατο, ὅσον δὲ λύττα φόνιον τι πνέων καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας βρύχων κατ' ἐμοῦ.

11. ἀνέδην: ἀναίδην codd. | 14-15. mg. C^{η} <μείωσαι> Va.

family. In 1384 Theodore, presumably as a retaliation against Mamonas, one of the rebel archons, offered the city to the former Venetian baiulus of Constantinople Pier Grimani for services rendered to his family during the civil war of 1376-9. At the same time undoubtedly Theodore had hoped by this move to secure Venice's co-operation against the rebel archons and the Navarrese. On 29 March the Republic gave Grimani permission to accept the Despot's gift (Misti 38, f.107ᵛ (= *Régestes* I, p. 162, no. 668), ed. G. Gerola, *B*, 6 (1931), 385 n. 2 and Dennis, *The reign*, p. 117 n. 45). Grimani however never acquired the city, presumably because Mamonas refused to hand it over. It was finally annexed by Theodore in 1391/2 (CBB I, 32 § 28, p. 233; II, pp. 346-7) at the height of his power. During the meeting of Serres Mamonas appealed to Bayezid against Theodore (Chalcocandyles (B)80-1 = (D)74-5). Taking advantage of the situation the Sultan resolved to appropriate the city and the surrounding strongholds to himself. Just before a Turkish garrison took over the city, the inhabitants appealed to Venice through the *regimen* in Negrepont offering to place themselves under her protection. The Republic, afraid that this would lead to a direct confrontation with the Turks, declined the offer (1394.III.5, Misti 42, f.155 (= *Régestes* I, p. 200, no. 844; Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 240-5, 249-51).

my brother as soon as he had received these places but once he had got them he renewed his demands. He did this repeatedly wishing to turn him into 'Nobody', 'devouring him last'[70], for truly in his heart he was a Cyclop with impiety instead of blindness, shamelessness instead of a cave. Indeed the Sultan too was a shepherd, but not of sheep like those of the Cyclop but of men who did not differ from beasts.

What could my brother do? Call him an impostor and a liar? Argue? Refuse? Spit on his face? Spare no abuse? What would he have gained by doing this? Besides he had not lost hope to the extent of challenging him outright. But was he prepared to contradict him till the very end? He certainly did this as long as he possibly could. But was he prepared to refuse to give in despite what might happen? But it would have been sheer madness to continue to disobey while a drawn sword was being brandished at him. This would have been nothing less than suicide. But to obey the enemy's demands and betray everything he possessed just to save himself? In the first place, as the saying is, 'there is no soundness in this' and he would never have been able to do it, for above all he valued integrity of action and he would have gladly exchanged a long and inglorious life for a short and honourable one. Secondly, it appeared that the murderer's intention was certainly not to deprive him of everything and then keep quiet, but on the contrary to take all and then to destroy the giver. And so in this situation Central Greece was something like the straits of Messina — on the one hand was the Sultan's fury, and on the other the executioner's so-called advice blended with threats, and they became more menacing than the horror-striking names of Charybdis and Scylla[71].

But this new Odysseus, the ever-good and inventive man had experienced many and various wanderings, or rather he willingly tasted misfortune for the sake of those who were akin to him both in status and root whose issue he was. And so he escaped from the cave, from the straits and the thronging clouds showering down terrible difficulties — and to carry the simile further — he sailed past unhurt escaping

70. Homer, *Odyssey* 9, 369-70.
71. Homer, *Odyssey* 12, 201-259.

f.18^{v} σειν μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν, λαμβάνων δὲ αὖθις ᾔτει, | καὶ τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἔπραττεν, Οὔτίν γε αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι θέλων πύματον ἐδόμενος ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς Κύκλωψ ὤν, ἔχων τὴν ἀσέβειαν τύφλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἄντρον, ἐπεί τοι καὶ ποιμὴν οὗτος ἦν, εἰ μὴ προβάτων ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν διαφερόντων θηρίων.

Τί οὖν ἐχρῆν τὸν ἀδελφὸν διαπράξασθαι; ἀπατεῶνα καὶ ψεύστην τοῦτον ἀποκαλεῖν; ἐξελέγχειν; ἀπωθεῖσθαι; διαπτύειν; μηδέν τι προπηλακισμοῦ παραλιπεῖν εἶδος; καὶ τί ἂν ἦν ἐκεῖνον κερδᾶναι ταύτῃ ποιοῦντα; Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἀπέγνω ὥστε καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι. Ἀλλ' ἀντιλέγειν γε ἄχρι τέλους; Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ γέγονεν ἕως ἐξῆν. Ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς ὑπενδοῦναι κἂν ὅ τι γένοιτο; Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀπειθεῖν διὰ παντός, ἐπισειομένου γυμνοῦ τοῦ ξίφους· ἦν γὰρ ἂν ἀτεχνῶς ὤσας τοῦτο καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ πρᾶξαι τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα προέσθαι ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ σωθῆναι; Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν ὑγιές φασι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσέ ποτε πράττειν ὅς γε τοῦ παντὸς ἐτίμα τὸ μηδέν τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ποτε πράξειν, καὶ χαίρων ἂν ἠλλάξατο τοῦ ζῆσαι μήκιστον χρόνον οὐ μετὰ δόξης βίον μετ' εὐκλείας βραχύτατον. Ἔπειτα καὶ τῷ φονεῖ οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτ' ἦν ὁ λογισμός, λαβεῖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὸν δεδωκότα ἀνελεῖν. Ὥστε πορθμὸς Σικελικὸς ἡ Ἑλλάς πως πέφηνε τηνικαῦτα, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σατράπου μανία καὶ ἡ τοῦ δημίου δῆθεν παραίνεσις ἀπειλῇ συγκεκραμένη χαλεπώτεραι πεφήνασι Χαρύβδεώς τε καὶ Σκύλλης, ὧν καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι φρίκη κέκραται.

Ἀλλ' ὁ νέος Ὀδυσσεὺς οὑτοσίν, ὁ καλός σοι πάντα καὶ εὐμήχανος, πολλῶν μὲν πλάνων πεπείραται καὶ παντοδαπῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑκὼν πεπείραται τῶν δεινῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοῦ τῷ f.19 σχήματι καὶ τῇ ῥίζῃ, ἧς γε ἐξέφυ. Πάν|των δὲ ἀπαλλαγείς, καὶ σπηλαίου καὶ πορθμοῦ καὶ πολλῶν πολλὰ υοντων νεφῶν τινων δίκην τὰ δυσχερῆ τε καὶ φοβερὰ (καὶ γὰρ ἑκτέον ἔτι τοῦ παραδείγματος)

1-2. Homerus, *Odyssea* 9.365-370 15. Plato, *Phaedo* 69b, 89c; *Gorgias* 524e etc., 23. Homerus, *Odyssea* 12.201-259.

---

13. ὦσαι PVW et mg. γρ. ὤσας PV: ὤσας Va | 15. οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσε ποτε PVW: οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἠξίωσε Va | 20. σικελικὸς PVVa: Σικελίας W | 22. συγκεκραμένη (ex -μμ-) P: W: συγκεκραμμένη Va: συγεκραμένη V | 23. Σκύλλης: Σκίλλης codd. | 28-29. pr. vers. δίκην τὰ φοβερά τε καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ et per s.s. α΄β΄γ΄δ΄ sec. vers. P: sec. vers. adopt. VWVa.

every hazard and at length returned home to find Penelope — the Peloponnese — unblemished having preserved herself strictly for him, not by undoing her web and raising the hope of those trying to possess her[72], but by openly repudiating them. Such behaviour is infinitely preferable and surpasses that of Penelope to such an extent that it gives no cause whatsoever for suspecting that chastity had been sullied, something that you will look for in vain in the case of Penelope. It appears then that unwavering prudence accomplishes everything, for reason is superior to all.

Your good Despot was not exasperated, though the demands were as unjust as the man who made them and dropped as thick as snowflakes from a wintry cloud, nor did he fear the threats which, mark you, as time went on continually increased in wickedness and ferocity. He said nothing harsh, nothing savage or repellent, nor on the other hand was he at all servile or cowardly, nor did he show or say anything which would betray weakness. In short, he acted in a manner befitting the circumstances and showed up the Sultan as being more naive than a mere child when in a childish way he shamelessly tried to make fun of my brother. He thus showed his prudence in this way: to the very end he neither entirely disobeyed the Sultan, as anyone might have done out of sheer desperation, nor did he immediately give way to him. This was because in the first case if he had shown marked opposition he might have provoked his fierce and rampant wrath, while in the second case by surrendering too easily he would have made the enemy suspect that he was making full use of an easy submission to further whatever scheme was in his mind by saying one thing and thinking another.

72. Homer, *Odyssey* 2, 105. 109. 203-207.

ἀσινὴς παρέπλευσέ τε καὶ παρελήλυθε πάσας κῆρας, καὶ γεγονώς ποτε οἴκοι εὗρε Πηνελόπην, τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἄμωμον αὐτὴν αὐτῷ διατηρήσασαν ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἐξαναλύουσαν τὸν ἱστὸν καὶ διδοῦσαν τοὺς πειρῶντας ἐλπίζειν, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέπουσαν· ὃ δὴ τοῦ προτέρου πολλῷ προέχει καὶ τοσούτῳ γε ὑπερήλασεν ὅσῳ μηδὲ λόγῳ τὴν σωφροσύνην δόξαι μολῦναι, ὅ γε ζητήσας ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ οὐκ ἂν εὕροις. Ὡς γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἡ φρόνησις οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσασα ἅπαντα ῥᾳδίως ἀνύσει· πάντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ἐπικρατέστερος.

Ὁ τοίνυν ἀγαθός σοι δεσπότης μήτε τραχυνθεὶς πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις, οὔσας γε τοσοῦτον ἀδικωτάτας ὅσον ὁ ταύτας ἀπαιτῶν ἀδικώτατος (ὗε δὲ ταύτας πυκνὰς καὶ ἐῴκεσαν νιφάσι χειμερινοῦ τινος ὡς ἐκ νέφους), μήτε πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς φοβηθεὶς (ἦσαν δὲ αἰεί τοι χείρους καὶ ἀγριώτεραι αἱ νεώτεραί τε καὶ δεύτεραι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ προτέρων), μηδὲν γοῦν στύφον, μηδὲ τραχύ, μηδ' ἀντίτυπον, μηδ' αὖθις ἀνελεύθερον, μηδὲ μαλακόν, μηδὲ ἔκλυτον ἢ ὁπωσοῦν ἐνδειξάμενος ἢ τὸ παράπαν φθεγξάμενος καὶ συλλήβδην γε εἰπεῖν μηδὲν ἀπᾷδον τοῦ καιροῦ, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντα πράξας καὶ αὐτῶν παιδαρίων ἀφελέστερον ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἴσα καὶ παιδὶ σμικρῷ ἐξ ἀναιδείας εἰς αὐτὸν παίζοντα. Χρῆται δὲ ὧδε τῇ φρονήσει· οὔτε παντελῶς ἀπειθεῖ μέχρι τέλους, ὃ πᾶς τις ἂν ἔπαθεν ἐπιεικῶς ἀπογνούς, οὔτ' αὖ ὑπενδίδωσι τὴν ταχίστην, ὡς μήτε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς ἐνστάσεως τὸ ὀργῶν τε καὶ φλεγμαῖνον προσπαροξύνῃ, μήτε τῷ f.19v ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ὑφεῖναι παράσχῃ | δικαίως ὑπονοεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, ὡς ἄρα τι προκείμενον ἔχων ταῖς εὐκολίαις κατακέχρηται, ἕτερα μὲν λέγων, ἕτερα δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κεύθων.

---

1. cf. Homerum, *Odyssea* 11.110, *Ilias* 12.326. 3-4. cf. *Odyssea* 2.104-10; 203-207. 11-12. cf. *Ilias* 3.222. 24-25. *Ilias* 9.313.

---

6. pr. vers. λόγῳ δόξαι τὴν σωφροσύνην μολῦναι et per s.s. α΄β΄γ΄ sec. vers. P: sec. vers. adopt. VWVa | 7. γνωμικὸν mg. PVW: om. Va | 12. τοι PV: τι WVa | 14. στύφον (υ in ras.) P: στίφον VWVa | 22. ὀργῶν PVW: ὀργὸν Va.

In this way he showed his shrewdness and I doubt if any other man could have made better use of the occasion in order to avoid both harshness and its opposite, namely, weakness. For those afflicted by misfortune tend to go to one or to the other extreme, while he most wisely walked the middle path and sailing on an even keel he tamed the dragon for a time, although the monster was unable to show mildness for long. When my brother had won over the Sultan's guards, as it were, he thought that the moment had come for him either to die or to escape. He succeeded in doing the second, as my oration will soon show. Obeying Bayezid's commands, he sent letters to his people enpowering the Sultan's emissaries to take over the citadels and the city which once belonged to Agamemnon[73]. With the emissaries he also sent certain of his men whom the Turks thought were to hand over the strongholds to them. These men marched slowly — for such were their instructions — and I think that they had not yet reached Corinth[74] when they saw their courageous Despot. This was something quite outside their expectation. Only my mother and I were not taken by surprise, for we knew the man's courage, his love of honour and his adventurous spirit, and besides the whole thing had not taken place without my consent. But we were kept in suspense, thinking either to hear horrible news or to witness what nobody believed could happen.

Time has shown that many men have given their gaolers the slip and their inventive skill has defeated shackles, chains and prisons. Some men have been so strongly guarded that they even seem to outdo miracle makers in their mode of escape. But if one were to compare my brother's contrivance with those of the past he would discover that it was by no means ignoble, if one takes into consideration the exceeding wickedness of his gaoler, the manner of his imprisonment and the way in which the prisoner showed its futility. It happened in this way. At the tyrant's command his tent was pitched at a certain spot on the river bank. The river, which was Spercheios, flows with a strong current and throughout this region its bank is very high so that here the bank is so encircled by the rushing current that it seems almost like an island. The strong contingent of the night watch surrounded the tent shoulder to

---

73. The city of Argos, see above p. 142, n. 68.

74. At the time ruled by Theodore's father-in-law Neri Acciaiuoli.

Οὕτω τῷ νῷ χρησάμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἦν κάλλιον, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἄν τις ἄλλος ἐκέχρητο τῶν ἁπάντων, διαφυγὼν ἐπίσης σκληρότητά τε καὶ τοὐναντίον μαλακότητα (ὧν ποτὲ μὲν θάτερον, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν) χωρεῖ τὴν μέσην λίαν σοφῶς, καὶ ταύτην ὁμαλῶς πορευόμενος ἡμεροῖ τὸν δράκοντα τέως, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ πρᾶον ἐπιδεῖξαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει. Τοὺς οὖν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντας ὥσπερ χειροήθεις τῇδε ποιήσας δεῖν ᾠήθη καιρὸν εἶναι ἢ τεθνάναι ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι. Τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου, ὡς ὁ λόγος προϊὼν δείξει. Πέμπει γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς οἴκαδε, οἵας οἱ προστάττοντες ἐβούλοντο· τοῖς δὲ πάρα τοῦ σατράπου πεμφθεῖσιν, ὥστε τὰ φρούρια λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονός ποτε πόλιν, συνεκπέμπει τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριοῦντας, ὡς ᾤοντό γε, τὰς ἀκροπόλεις. Οἱ δὲ σχολῇ βαδίζοντες (οὕτω γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεταγμένον) οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἰδόντες, οἶμαι, τὴν Κόρινθον, καὶ ὁρῶσι τὸν γενναῖον παρὰ τὰς τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδας, οὐ μὴν παρὰ τὰς τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενναιότητα καὶ τὸ φιλότιμόν τε καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον ἠγνοοῦμεν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἐμῆς ἐγένετο γνώμης. Ὥσπερ οὖν μετέωρον τὴν ἀκοὴν εἴχομεν ἢ ἀπευκταίαν ἀγγελίαν ἀκούσεσθαι ἢ τὸ μηδενὶ πιστευόμενον πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι καὶ θεαθῆναι.

Πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κατεχόντων διολισθήσαντας ἔδειξε καὶ πέδας καὶ ἁλύσεις καὶ δεσμωτήρια οὐδὲν ὄντα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐμηχανίαν, τινὲς δὲ διαδράντες καὶ τοὺς θαυματο- f.20 ποιοὺς παρενεγκεῖν ἔδοξαν· | οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἐφρουροῦντο. Ἀλλ' εἴ τις τὴν παροῦσαν μηχανὴν παραβάλοι ταῖς τῶν προτέρων, οὐδαμῶς ἀγεννεστέραν εὑρήσει, θεωρήσας ἀκριβῶς τόν τε κατέχοντα ὅστις ἦν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ, τόν τε τρόπον ᾧ κατεῖχε καὶ ὅπως τοῦτον ἔωλον ὁ κατεχόμενος ἔδειξεν. Ἔσχε δὲ ὡδί. Σκηνή τις ἦν αὐτῷ πεπηγυῖα περί τινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ τυράννου. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς Σπερχειὸς βαθύν τινα τὸν ῥοῦν αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ποιούμενος· ἡ ὄχθη δὲ πρὸς ὕψος ἠρμένη διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χωρίου, ὃ τῷ κεκυκλῶσθαι ῥοθίῳ ὀλίγου ἀποδέον ἦν τοῦ νήσῳ ἐοικέναι· ἡ δὲ νύκτωρ φυλακή,

---

20. cf. Manuelem Palaeologum, *Dialogus* XX, 242,*2-3*.

---

26. ἀγεννεστέραν sec. *ν* s.s. P: ἀγενεστέραν VWVa | 27. ᾧ (ex ὃν) PV: W: ὃν Va | 30. οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ νῦν καλούμενος Ἑλλὰς mg. codd. | 32. ὀλίγου PV: ὀλίγον WVa.

shoulder and securely held that strip of land. They lit fires and sang songs throughout the night. For they did not have set periods of duty but at the Sultan's command they watched all through the night. To cut a long story short, the rest of the set-up ran along the same lines so that both collectively and individually the watch was efficient[75]. Yet one's man's valour showed all this to have been useless, although our enemies, though thinking it probable that he would try to escape, were not afraid that he would actually succeed in doing so, since the obstacles were so great, while our own party did not even consider that he would ever attempt to get away. One could indeed rightly marvel at this escape for it was no less valiant than any of the deeds he had previously achieved. For although he could often have escaped either alone or with a small retinue he was not willing to do this, but chose either to return home with all those he had with him or else to die with them.

It was clear to all that he certainly engineered the escape as no other man could have done, leaving not a single one of his retinue behind, not even a baggage-carrier or an old man who could hardly walk, and fleeing as though on wings he caught up with his men who left before he did. Having accomplished this he demonstrated to his pursuers that their pursuit was useless and, as it were, he poured the stale dregs of their hostile machinations over their heads. It is impossible to describe in a panegyric the ways and means by which he escaped, showing, as he was bound to do, how much the Sultan deserved to be spat on, telling of all his inventiveness, his wisdom and courage, his sagacity and skill. At all events it is sufficient, and above all fair, to say that it must be obvious to all that this deed so rightly conceived, happily put into practice and most successfully accomplished, could only have been achieved with divine aid. No human power nor any accidental or fortuitous chance could have merged together so

---

75. Manuel had first hand experience of the Sultan's camp since he had participated in Bayezid's two separate campaigns in Asia Minor, the first in 1390 and the second in the summer/winter of 1391 (For details of these campaigns see Zachariadou, «Manuel II Palaeologus», p. 471ff.). Cf. also *Dialogues*, p. 121, *1-5* for Manuel's impressions of the Turkish camp.

ἦν δὲ φάλαγξ πολυάνθρωπος, στοιχηδὸν περικυκλοῦντες τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸν ὀλίγον ἰσθμὸν ἐκεῖνον διακατέχοντες ἀκριβῶς, πυρί τε χρώμενοι καὶ ᾠδαῖς, οὐδὲ γοῦν πρὸς ὥραν ἐκάθευδον. Οὐ γὰρ φυλακὰς ἠγρύπνουν ἀλλὰ τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην· οὕτω δοκοῦν τῷ σατράπῃ. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ μακρὸν ἀποτείνω λόγον, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τούτοις ἦν ἀκριβῶς ἐφάμιλλα, ὅσα ἐνομίζετο πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐξαρκέσειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἅμα συντεταγμένα ἀλλὰ καὶ διῃρημένα καθέκαστον. Ἃ δὴ πάντα μάταια ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπέφηνεν ἀρετή, καίτοι οὔτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸ εἰκὸς λογιζομένοις φοβητέον εἶναι ἐδόκει τὸ δυνηθῆναι τουτονί ποτε διαδρᾶναι, τοσούτων ὄντων τῶν κωλυμάτων, οὔτε αὖ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγχειρητέος ὁ δρασμὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐνομίζετο. Θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις κἀκεῖνο μάλα δικαίως (οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἔλαττον ἔχει τῶν αὐτῷ διαπεπραγμένων)· πολλάκις γὰρ δυνάμενος μόνος ἢ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων διαφυγεῖν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἵλετο ἢ μεθ' ὧν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπανιέναι |
f.20v ἢ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰργάσατο τὸν δρασμὸν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτερος, μηδένα μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ σκευοφορεῖν ἑπομένων ἀποβαλών, μήτε γέροντά τινα, ᾧ τὰ γόνατ' ἂν ἠπιστεῖτο πρὸς ἀναγκαίαν βάδισιν, καὶ διαδρὰς ὥσπερ ὑπόπτερος ἔφθασε τοὺς προαπελθόντας, καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέφηνε τοὺς διώκοντας αὐτὸν εἰκῇ τὸν δρόμον πεποιημένους καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηχανὰς ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν κατέχεε τῆς αὐτῶν κορυφῆς, ἅπασι δῆλον. Διηγήσασθαι δὲ τὴν μηχανὴν τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόπον, δι' οὗ κατάπτυστον ἔδειξεν ὃν ἐχρῆν, καὶ ὡς ἐπίνοιά τε πᾶσα καὶ πρᾶξις ἡ περὶ ταῦτα πλήρης μὲν σοφίας, πλήρης δὲ ἀνδρίας γέμουσά τε συνέσεως καὶ δεξιότητος ὅ τι πλείστης, ἔνεστι μέν, οὐ συγχωρεῖ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ λόγου. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντως εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποχρῶν καὶ δίκαιον πάντων ἕνεκα. Τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καλῶς μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς διανοηθέν, κάλλιον δὲ πραχθὲν καὶ πέρας εἰληφὸς ὅ τι κάλλιστον, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἅπασιν ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ῥοπῆς γέγονε. Τὸ

21-22. Demosthenes *De Corona* 50(242); Lucianus, *Symposium* 3; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 743. 29. V. supra 111,*18*.

many factors to achieve a single splendid end. His escape set free the whole of the Peloponnese from impending bondage; it liberated Thebes, Athens, Megara and other Greek cities whose leader was Neri, the Despot's father-in-law, a man of good sense; it liberated the Illyrians and a great number of barbarian nations[76]. It is obvious that as long as he (I mean the Turkish tyrant) held my brother in his hands he could swear and obstinately and arrogantly maintain that he (Bayezid) would not return home until he had conquered and destroyed everything. He boasted that this was not something exceedingly great or difficult but on the contrary quite easy. Later after the blow (for indeed my brother's escape was a blow to him) he stooped to the ground and no longer listened with pleasure to those who told him similar things to please him, for he clearly recognised such words as fulsome flattery.

Your Despot became illustrious by reason of many great deeds. He chose to die for the honour of his imperial rank, for to present himself to the murderous barbarian to preserve his own people and those of the other leaders really amounted to death. He escaped from the barbarian even though he was caught and held in a net from which it was believed to be impossible to escape. When all thought that the gaping beast was about to devour everybody and could not be halted, he showed up the beast's failure and its empty belly. While he was himself in danger nations and many cities clearly perceived their own danger, but when he came out of the barbarian gullet, from whose

---

76. It is not clear which branch of the Albanians Manuel is referring to, but most probably to those settled south of Levadia, since the county of Salona in Phocis and Neopatras in Phthiotis were captured by the Turks on that occasion. The presence of Albanians in the duchy of Athens and Neopatras was cited in 1380's. They were stationed in Phocis, acting in a military capacity as vassals to the King of Aragon (Loenertz, «Athènes et Néopatras», nos. 164, 189, 191, pp. 235, 242; cf. Jochalas, «Über die Einwanderung der Albaner», 96ff.). But how far and to what extent these settlements had at this stage penetrated into Attica and Corinthia is difficult to tell. Albanians were certainly used as mercenaries by Neri Acciaiuoli and were responsible for the attack on the Navarrese possessions after the Turkish withdrawal in the early summer of 1394 (Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 115). There were also a large number of Albanian mercenaries in Achaia in 1391 (Secreta E, f.69, 1391.VII.24: *in illis partibus haberi possent cum parva pecunie quantitate multi Albanenses*). On the other hand the very fact that Manuel specifically refers to them would indicate that their numbers were, most probably, worthy of notice.

γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ συνδεδραμηκέναι πρὸς ἕν τι τέλος θαυμάσιον, οὔτ' ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως οὔτε μήν τι σύμπτωμα ἐκ ταὐτομάτου καὶ τύχης. Τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐλευθεροῖ μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῆς προφαινομένης δουλείας, ἐλευθεροῖ δὲ Θήβας, 'Αθήνας, Μέγαρα, πόλεις ἑλληνίδας ἑτέρας, ὧν ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ κηδεστὴς ἄρχων ἦν — ʽΡανέρης ὄνομα αὐτῷ — νουνεχὴς ἀνήρ, ἐλευθεροῖ δὲ πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ 'Ιλλυρικὸν καὶ ἄλλα γε πολλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνη. Δῆλον δέ, ὃς γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν χειροῖν ἔχων — τὸν τύραννόν φημι Πέρσην — ἦ μὴν ἐπώμνυ καὶ ἰσχυρίζετο μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ φρονήματος μηδαμῶς ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε πρὶν ἢ χειρώσασθαι πάντα καὶ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ ἦν
f.21 οὐδὲν ὑπέρο|γκον οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν ἀλαζονευόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅ γε ῥᾴδιον ἦν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον κύπτων εἰς γῆν μετὰ τὴν πληγήν — πληγὴ γὰρ ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ ἡ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ φυγή — οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς χάριν τὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων ἡδέως ἔτ' ἤκουεν, εἰδώς γε κολακείας ἐσχάτης σαφῶς τὰ ῥήματα.

Τοιγαροῦν λαμπρὸς ὑμῖν ὁ δεσπότης πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἕνεκα· τοῦ προελέσθαι τεθνάναι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἀτεχνῶς τὸ πρὸς φονῶντα βάρβαρον παραγεγονέναι σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἐξηγούμενος)· τοῦ διαπεφευγέναι τὰς τούτου χεῖρας, ἐπείπερ ἥλω καὶ ἦν ἐν δικτύοις πιστευομένοις ἀφύκτοις εἶναι· τοῦ τὸν κεχηνότα θῆρα καταπιεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ τὸ κωλῦσον εἶναι μηδὲν λογιζόμενον, ἄπρακτον παντάπασιν ἀποφῆναι καὶ κενὴν τὴν τοῦδε γαστέρα· τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος μὲν αὐτοῦ προφανῆ κίνδυνον βλέπειν ἔθνη τε καὶ πόλεις ὅ τι πολλάς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ λαιμοῦ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, εἰς ὃν οὐδείς πω καταδὺς ἐπανῆκε σαφοῦς

---

1. γνωμικὸν mg. P: deest in VWVa | 2. ἐξ αὐτομάτου PVW: et mg. *γρ.* ἐκ ταὐτομάτου PV: Va | 11. ὑπέρογκον PVW: ὑπέρογγον Va.

Manuel's second reference to the «barbarian nations» may well refer to the Slavs of Maina whose existence is attested by epigraphical evidence (A. Ahrweiler, «Une inscription méconnue sur les Mélingues du Taygète», *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique,* 86 (1962), 1-10; A. Avramea, «ʽΟ 'τζάσις τῶν Μεληγγῶν'. Νέα ἀνάγνωσις ἐπιγραφῶν ἐξ Οἰτύλου», *Παρνασσός,* 16 (1974), 288-300). For a later period, evidence is found in the deliberation of the Venetian Senate (1389.II.18, Misti 40, f.157^{v}: *Sclavis de Mayna*). Manuel also may be referring to the Latins in the area (cf. below 169,*7-8*; Cydones 21,*18*; 36,*20*; 222,*94*; 328,*9-10*; 435,*15.47-8*).

depth no man has ever emerged, they also were freed from certain slavery. Those who were saved by him at that time (I do not speak of his own men) in no way contributed to his success, though he had always cared for them, nor did they give him any aid at all in his struggle to put an end to the danger. Thus it was at his own expense that he delivered them, for they neither felt any sense of gratitude nor did they contribute anything towards this.

Indeed of his own free will he became a martyr and surrendered himself for the sake of the many, and endangered himself and went through painful experiences and suffered ignominy and other things which gnawed the heart and which would have crushed any serious-minded man. The facts clearly show that his survival and happiness was at the same time the salvation and happiness of a multitude of men, not only his own subjects but the subjects of others as well. He was outstandingly splendid, so essential to a number of people, vital as breath to his friends, invincible to his enemies and able to ward off their attacks. The truth of this is proved by the fact that he frightened and turned away that mighty man by simply reaching his own land. For as soon as that arrogant man learnt of this, he was in despair as to what he should do and he put away his inflated pride and in a most sordid manner he cast off that arrogance which had been fed by the many trophies set up by various great nations in his and in his father's honour. He forgot the oaths which he had sworn, craning forth his neck, swaying his head in an unbecoming manner and shouting louder than a town crier. He was a tamed creature then, having changed from a wild beast into a bleating lamb. He who previously howled fiercer than the wolves now looked like a subdued wild beast. He who in his savagery had roared at human beings was thus reduced to such a state. Realizing then that he could not achieve any of his desires, he strove to disentangle himself as soon as possible. He was ashamed of this sudden change lest he should appear weak-minded and absurd since he feared those fleeing from him and was himself in flight with nobody in

αἰχμαλωσίας ῥυσθῆναι, καίτοι οὔτε εὐτυχοῦντι συνελάμβανον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντι οἱ σεσωσμένοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τηνικαῦτα — οὐ λέγω δὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων — οὔτε ὑπὲρ τούτων κινδυνεύοντι τὸ τυχὸν αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν δεινῶν, ἵν' ᾖ τὸ τούτους σεσῶσθαι προῖκα παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένον μηδεμιᾶς αὐτῶν ὑπαρξάντων χάριτος ἤ τι τὸ παράπαν εἰσενηνοχότων εἰς τοῦτο.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς οὗτος τῇ προαιρέσει ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ προὔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο καὶ λυπηρῶν πεπείραται καὶ ἀδοξίαν ὑπέστη καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα δάκνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ κατενεγκεῖν οἷά τε τοὺς μὴ τῶν παρόντων καταγελῶντας. Ἐκ δὴ πάντων πρόδηλον ὡς τὸ περιεῖναι τοῦτον καὶ εὖ ἔχειν ἦν δήπουθεν καὶ σῴζεσθαι καὶ εὖ εἶναι πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, οὐ μόνον γε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεσποζομένων ἁπάντων ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὑφ' f.21[v] ἑτέροις | ταττομένων. Οὕτως ἦν ἐκεῖνος θαυμασιώτατος, οὕτω πολλοῖς ὠφέλιμος, ἴσα καὶ πνοῇ τοῖς φίλοις ἀναγκαιότατος, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἀχείρωτος καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτρέπων ἐφόδους. Καὶ δηλοῖ τὸ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον ἀποσοβῆσαι καὶ ἀποτρέψαι μόνῳ τῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ. Εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῦτο μαθὼν ἐκεῖνος ὁ σοβαρός, ἀπογνοὺς τοῦ πρᾶξαί τι, καταβάλλει μὲν ὀφρὺν πόρρωθεν ἠρμένην αὐτῷ πολλαχόθεν, ῥίπτει δὲ φρόνημα ἀγεννῶς ἄγαν, ὅπερ ἐκείνῳ συνεφορήθη συχνοῖς τροπαίοις, ἅπερ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φύσασιν ἕστηκεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν. Ἀμνημονεῖ δὲ ὅρκων ἐκείνων οὕς γε ἀνατείνων αὐχένα καὶ κινῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ, βοῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς κήρυκας, ὤμνυ. Καὶ ἦν τις ἥμερος τότε μεταβαλὼν ἐξ ἀγρίου καὶ μονονοὺ βληχώμενος ὁ πρότερον ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους δεινὸν κεχηνώς, καὶ ἐῴκει χειροήθεσι θηρίοις, εἰς τοῦτ' ἐξαίφνης ἐλθὼν ὁ βλέπων τε βλοσυρὸν καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων βρυχώμενος. Καὶ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ταχέως ἀπαλλαγῆναι, εἰδὼς ἀνύσων οὐδέν· ᾐσχύνετο δὲ τὴν ταχίστην μεταβολὴν καὶ εἰ δόξει εὔριπος καὶ ἀλλόκοτος ἄνθρωπος, ὀρρωδῶν τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τότε φεύγοντας, καὶ φεύγων ὑπ' οὐδενὸς διωκόμενος,

---

19. cf. Euripidem, *Cyclops* 167, sed. hic in sensu «superbiam dimittere». 29. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 222.

---

6. εἰσενηνοχότων PVW: et mg. *γρ.* εἰσηχότων PV:Va | 25. βληχώμενος (ex βληχόμενος) P: W: βληχόμενος VVa.

pursuit, thus demonstrating that his deeds and words conflicted then with his former words and deeds. In short, nothing he thought or said or did earlier bore any relation to his later performance. At this point he invented a plausible excuse to conceal his shame. He pretended that he had received letters from the east asking him to come to the help of the Sultan who was being attacked by the Mongol Timur[77]. This Timur was the same man at whose hands he shortly afterwards suffered punishment with interest for the injustices he had committed, as was indeed only fair[78]. But since the Sultan's letters were a mere pretext and a deception, he pretended that he had to hurry across the Hellespont but in reality he did not mean to do so. Thus marching slowly he wasted a lot of time and, if you please, in secret flight he lingered in Thrace collecting as best as he could an army capable of destroying you. He sent this army to plunder all my brother's possessions for no other crime than for having refused to give himself up and delight in the blood of his own men. He gave orders to his general (his name was Evrenos — you know his tactics and his unrivalled hatred towards the faithful) to spare nothing[79]. His seething anger had reached such a pitch.

There was another reason which compelled him to collect and immediately despatch a strong army. For it was impossible to maintain the fortresses and the cities which he then held in this area unless they got help at once[80]. For they needed all sorts of aid as they were being besieged by you and were suffering hardship through food shortage. The preparations were formidable, the general cruel, the army large and well equipped both in arms and cavalry. In contrast, for a number

---

77. Sometime late in 1393 or early 1394 Timur had captured fortresses in Mesopotamia and Syria. This led the Sultan of Egypt to move his forces against Timur during the spring of 1394. The Mongol military movements were also directed against the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor (Y. Yücel, «XIV-XV yüzyillar arastirmalar II», *Belleten,* 37 (1973), 166-69). It is therefore possible that in response to these military movements of the Mongols Bayezid hastened to Thrace to raise an army. Cf. Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 247-48.

78. See above p. 134, n. 55.

79. Evrenos bey was originally one of the independent and powerful emirs of Thrace who since the beginning of Murad I's reign had recognized Ottoman suzerainty (I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I,* Munich 1967, pp. 48, 233).

80. These were in the vicinity of Monemvasia, including the fortress itself which had been handed over to Bayezid's emissaries. See above p. 142, n. 69.

καὶ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐναντίως τὰ τότε πράγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀποδεικνύς. Καὶ εἰ δεῖ συλλήβδην τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν διανοούμενος ἢ λέγων ἢ ἐργαζόμενος ἐοικὸς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ὕστερον οὗτος ἐφαίνετο. Πλάττει δὴ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ ὥστε συσκιάσαι τὸ αἶσχος· καὶ τὸ πλάσμα· ἔφασκεν ἐπιστολὰς δεδέχθαι σουλτανικὰς προσκαλουμένας αὐτὸν ἐς ἕω, ὥστε βοηθεῖν ἐκείνῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκύθου Τεμήρη πολεμουμένῳ, ὃς ἦν ᾧ μικρὸν ὕστερον αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκει δίκην ὧν ἠσεβήκει, καὶ ταύτην γε σὺν τόκῳ μάλα δικαίῳ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπείπερ σκῆψις ἦν καὶ σκηνὴ τὰ τοῦ σουλτάνου f.22 γράμ|ματα, τὸ διαβῆναι σπεύδειν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔλεγε μέν, οὐκ ἐβούλετο δέ. Ἀναλίσκει δὴ χρόνον οὐ σμικρὸν βάδην πορευόμενος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, φεύγων οὑτωσὶ λάθρα· διατρίβει δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, συνάγει δὲ στρατιὰν ὅθεν τε καὶ ὅπως ἦν δυνατὸν αὐτῷ, νομιζομένην πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ καθ᾽ ὑμῶν οἵαν τε εἶναι. Πέμπει δὴ ταύτην λῃσομένην πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τοῦ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἠδικηκότος αὐτὸν ἢ τὸ μὴ τούτῳ παρεσχηκέναι τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ τοῖς αἵμασιν ἐντρυφῆσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ στρατηγῷ — Βρανέζης ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ἴστε δὲ τὸν τοῦδε τρόπον καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἔχθραν ὡς ἔστιν ἀπαράμιλλος — μηδενὸς φείδεσθαι· οὕτως ἦν ἐκείνῳ ζέων ὁ θυμός.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἦν τι καὶ ἀναγκάζον ἀθροῖσαί τε καὶ πέμψαι πολλήν τινα στρατιὰν μάλα αὐτίκα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὰ φρούρια σῴζεσθαι καὶ ἃς κατεῖχεν ἐνταυθοῖ τότε πόλεις, μὴ τὴν ταχίστην βοηθείας τυχόντα· ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐπικουρίας παντοδαπῆς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν πολιορκούμενα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ ταλαιπωρούμενα. Αἱ μὲν οὖν παρασκευαὶ δειναί, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὠμός, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ πολλὴ καὶ εὔοπλος οὐχ ἧττον ἢ εὔιππος· τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἡμῖν ἐξίτηλα

---

1. πρὸ τοῦ PV: προτοῦ WVa | 11. σμικρὸν PVW: μικρὸν Va | 14. ὑμῶν PVW: ἡμῶν Va | 17. δὲ PWVa: δὴ V | 23. ὑμῶν PWVa: ἡμῶν V.

of reasons our own resources were weak. Moreover many of the local people called on our enemies so that they should have them as their overlords; besought them — you cannot think how — and stirred them up against us, or more rightly, against themselves. To add to this there was a further calamity. The people who invited the Turks to enter the Isthmus promised to supply them with abundant food. This was no insignificant factor; on the contrary it was capable of rousing high hopes in the man who was about to attack with his army, while instilling with despair those awaiting the assault. The situation was as I have described. The undertaking however did not materialise according to the Sultan's set purpose. Why do I say according to his set purpose when everything dashed his hopes? For the Turkish army was unable to enter the Isthmus since you had already occupied the passes where the road is narrow and rocky, steep and impassable. The fact that the army returned empty-handed meant that all the cities occupied by the Turks were handed back to their lawful and rightful master who had possessed them in the past and would have them in future[81]. But most wonderful of all, he received these cities with interest. I call 'interest' those captured guards who formed no mean portion of the enemy.

These are the facts and they are known in many corners of the world. But the great success of the infidels (or rather the misfortunes of the faithful who have offended against God) has made the ill-starred enemy the ruler of many whose slave he should by rights have been. This meant that from the point of view of numbers and strength his army was much better than it had previously been, although even then it had been considerable, brave and experienced in warfare. It had been trained gradually over a long period of time to bear the hardships and pains which afflict the body and to remain in a hostile land when others would not have remained even in a friendly country producing all good things[82]. This army had been left to him by his father, who

---

81. The defence of the Peloponnese lasted throughout the summer of 1394. During this time Theodore, at the instigation of Neri Acciaiuoli, resolved his differences with Venice over Argos by signing a treaty on 27 May 1394 (Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 114, 374-85). In return the Republic gave him naval support and thus helped him to recapture Monemvasia by hindering the Turkish ships from landing fresh forces and supplies (1394.VII.24, Misti 43, f.18 (= *Régestes* I, p. 203, no. 858); Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», pp. 252-3, n. 1).

82. Manuel's comments on and assessment of the training of the Turkish army derives from first hand experience. Compare his observations on the conditions

πολλαχόθεν, καὶ προσῆν τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡγεμόνας ἴσχειν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας παρακαλοῦντας, πῶς οἴει, καὶ παροξύνοντας εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ἤ, τό γε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὰ καθ' αὐτῶν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινότατον ἀπῆν· ἦσαν γὰρ οἳ προσεκαλοῦντο τούτους εἰσιέναι τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ὑπισχνούμενοι χορηγήσειν αὐτοῖς ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Τούτων δὲ οὐ σμικρὸν ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν τῷ πέμποντι μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν χρηστὰς παρασχεῖν ἐλπίδας, τοῖς δὲ προσδοκῶσι τὴν ταύτης ἔφοδον ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμποιῆσαι. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καθάπερ ἔφην· οὐκ ἀποβεβήκει δὲ κατὰ γνώμην τἀνδρὶ τοὐγχείρημα. Καὶ τί λέγω κατὰ γνώμην, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ τὰ
f.22v τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντέστραπτο; | Οὔτε γὰρ εἰσῄεσαν ἡ στρατιά, προειλημμένων ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν χώρων ἐκείνων, οὐ στενή τις ἦν ὁδὸς καὶ λιθώδης καὶ ἀνάντης καὶ ὅλως δύσβατος· τό τε κενὴν αὐτὴν ὑποστρέψαι ἀποδεδώκει πάσας τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων κατεσχημένας τῷ δικαίως καὶ καλῶς καὶ κεκτημένῳ ταύτας προτοῦ καὶ κτησαμένῳ μετέπειτα. Τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον, ὅτι καὶ σὺν τόκῳ ταύτας ἀπείληφε· λέγω δὲ τόκον νῦν τοὺς δορυαλώτους φρουροὺς ἐκείνους, οὐ φαύλην ὄντας μοῖραν τῶν πολεμίων.

Ἔστι ταῦτα καὶ βοᾶται πολλαχοῦ γῆς. Ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς εὐτυχίας τῶν ἀσεβῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δυστυχὲς ἐκ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσκρούειν, τὸν κακοδαίμονα δυσμενῆ πολλῶν δεσπότην ἀπέφηνεν, ὧν ἂν ἦν δοῦλος πάνυ δικαίως. Τοῦτο τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν τῷ τε πλήθει τῇ τε δυνάμει πολὺ βελτίω πεποίηκεν, οὖσάν γε καὶ πρότερον οὐ σμικράν, οὐδὲ ἀγεννῆ, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἄπειρον, ἠρέμα πως γυμνασθεῖσαν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πόνῳ φέρειν τὰ λυποῦντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαμένειν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτεροι ἐν φιλίᾳ φυούσῃ πᾶν ἀγαθόν. Ταύτην τὴν στρατιὰν πατὴρ μὲν αὐτῷ

22. ὧν in ras. P:VW: οἷς Va | δοῦλος πάνυ δικαίως in ras. PV: W: δικαίως ἀνδράποδον Va.

encountered during the two Turkish campaigns of 1390 and 1391 in Asia Minor when he followed Bayezid as a vassal: *Letters* 19, *4-8, 28-31*, pp. 57-9; 18, *21ff.*, p. 55; 16, *64-6*, p. 47; *Dialogues*, pp. 50, *1-12*; 94, *10*; 120, *23-121, 1*; 301, *8-10*. For details concerning these campaigns see Zachariadou, «Manuel II Palaeologus», p. 471ff.

had received it from his own father, who had in turn received it from his father, as he too had received it from his father whose name was Ertuğrul[83]. All of them up to that time had increased its strength by their complete dedication and endurance of hardship and danger, though — to speak frankly — not by reason of their more outstanding or more perfect virtue. And this is what makes us hope that one day good fortune may change and desert them, siding with us, as it did in the days of our forefathers. Virtue prevails over everything and since it is within our power to live according to virtue it is therefore only just that we, who have shunned wickedness and admired the virtue of our fore-fathers and all their noble deeds, should hope to conquer those who now hold sway over us. Moreover while his (I mean Bayezid's) fortunes waxed, ours waned, so that not without reason everybody despaired. For an enemy's progress is proportionately equal to the diminution of his opponent's and vice versa.

I will now tell you something worthy of tears. There were a number of individuals not all of whom belonged to the common people or were considered to be of low rank who joined the enemy[84]. At first they did so secretly as so far as this was possible, for I think they felt ashamed, but later they acted openly. For usually with the lapse of time people are inclined to boast about things they have done in secret. They became for us an incurable calamity. I do not know what you would call them: Romans and Christians on account of their race and baptism, or the opposite because of their choice and actions? Enemies for their perverted and mad behaviour towards their country? Or friends for having been the cause of your glory, although this happened without their support? For, in contrast to their wickedness towards you, your goodness shone. But perhaps we should omit the things which concern them and proceed with our story.

The situation was growing desperate and the barbarian, being bent

---

83. Historical evidence for the early Ottomans is lacking. Ertuğrul, the father of Osman, is the only one mentioned in the oldest chronicles and whose existence is attested by numismatic evidence (I. Artuk, «Osmanli beyliğinin kurucusu Osman Gazi'ye ait sikke», *Papers presented to the First International Congress on the social and economic history of Turkey,* Hacettepe University 1977, Ankara 1980, pp. 27-33. The others were Osman (1299-1326); Orhan (1326-62); Murad I (1362-89); Bayezid I (1389-1402).

84. For an example of Byzantine collaborators see above p. 128, n. 51, though we do not know whether the family in question belonged to the imperial family or had any connections with the Peloponnese.

καταλέλοιπε, δεξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτὴν διαδεξαμένου, ὡς κἀκεῖνος αὖ ἐκ τοῦ φύσαντος — Ἐρτογρούλης αὐτῷ τοὔνομα. Πάντες δὲ ἐπηύξησαν ἄχρι τοῦδε σπουδῇ μὲν πάντως καὶ πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἑαυτῶν, δεῖ γὰρ τἀληθές εἰπεῖν, οὐ μήν γε κρείττοσιν ἀρεταῖς καὶ τελεωτέραις, ὃ δὴ καὶ θαρρεῖν ἡμᾶς δίδωσι μεταπεσεῖσθαί ποτε τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐκείνην αὖθις τετάξεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐρήμους ἀφεῖσαν, ὡς κἀπί τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ὑπῆρχε τὰ πράγματα. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀρετὴ πανταχοῦ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐστιν, ὄντος γε τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῆσαι, εἴη ἂν πάνυ f.23 δικαίως ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐλπιζομένοις | τῶν νῦν κρατούντων ἡμᾶς κρατήσειν, τὴν μὲν κακίαν μισήσαντας, φίλους δὲ τῆς τῶν φυσάντων ἀρετῆς γεγονότας καὶ ἐραστὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων. Πλὴν ἐκείνῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδιδόντων — τῷ Παγιαζίτῃ λέγω — τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς μείωσιν ἀφῖκτο, πάντων ἀπαγορευόντων οὐκ ἄπο λόγου. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδόσεις ἴσην πως δύναμιν ἔχουσι ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπάλων μειώσεσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν.

Ἥκω δὲ λέξων ἤδη δακρύων ἄξιον ὄντως. Ἔνιοι γὰρ οὐκέτι τῶν τελούντων εἰς δῆμον οὐδὲ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι δοκούντων, τοῖς πολεμίοις προστιθέμενοι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ὡς οἷόν τε λάθρα (ᾐσχύνοντο γάρ, οἶμαι), ἔπειτα ἀνέδην περὶ τὰ τελευταῖα (φιλεῖ γὰρ τὰ γιγνόμενα κρύφα χρόνου περιτρέχοντος παρρησιάζεσθαι) δυσίατόν τι πάθος ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο· οὓς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι καλέσετε, Ῥωμαίους καὶ Χριστιανοὺς διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἢ τἀναντία διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἐχθροὺς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα διεστραμμένον καὶ μανικὸν ἢ προσφιλεῖς ὡς αἰτίους γενομένους ὑμῖν εὐκλείας, εἰ δὴ καὶ ἀκόντων ἐκείνων τοῦτο συμβέβηκε· τοῖς γὰρ καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσεβήμασι τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐξήστραψεν ἀγαθὸν ὡς ἐν παραθέσει. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτων παραλιπεῖν ἴσως ἄμεινον· ἐχώμεθα δὲ τῶν ἑξῆς ἐντεῦθεν.

Ηὔξανε τὸ δεινὸν καὶ σπονδὰς ὁ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἀλλ' ἣν

---

1. τὰ πρόσωπα: Ἐρτογρούλης, Ὀτμάνης, Ὀρχάνις, Μωράτης, Βαγιαζίτης αὐτὸς mg. PVW: Μωράτης om. Va 14. ἄπο codd. | 14-15. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 20. ἀνέδην: ἀναίδην codd. | 20-21. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. 30. Στάσις βα mg. codd.

on destroying us, refused to accept a truce[85]. There was no one either to restrain him or to give help to my brother. He had confidence in me alone, and I too was confronted with various troubles[86]. By reason of the length of the war our power had decreased to such an extent that it seemed as if our disasters had reached their peak and in so far as human reasoning was concerned no hope whatsoever remained. We both of us had a double fear: each for himself and both for each other. And as in the case of the swiftest runners, the approaching difficulties all but removed from everybody any hope of salvation. It therefore seemed good to me and to my entourage and to the wiser of our allies that I should sail to Italy and indeed go to transalpine France and to Britain[87]. For it seemed reasonable that I should bring personal persuasion to bear on those who were in a position to help us and hope to draw on their resources without the delay or postponment to which they are prone. I at once communicated my plan to the highest officials in the government and to the allies who later transmitted the news to the appropriate authorities, and when all had approved it, the decision was put into effect. I shall not speak any more about myself, nor shall I draw out my speech by lingering on details and events which took place in that long absence abroad[88]. I did not leave the ship of state to

---

85. Bayezid's intransigence is also attested by Symeon, pp. 45, *17-19*, 46, *7-8*.

86. A reference to the siege of Constantinople, which lasted for eight years from the spring of 1394 until 1402 (Symeon, p. 43, *28-30*). During the first months the City came almost to the brink of surrender (1394.V.21, Misti 43, ff.5^{v}-6 (= *Régestes* I, p. 202, no. 851). The pressure was somewhat eased when Bayezid was once more threatened by Timur in that summer (1394.VII.24. Secreta E, f.93^{v}: *partes Basaiti molestantur ad presens ab imperatore Tartarorum.* Text published by S. Ljubić, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* IV, Zagreb 1874, pp. 332-34, no. 473). But the Sultan resumed the siege with varying activity until his defeat by the Mongols in July 1402.

87. The advice came from Maréchal Boucicaut, see above p. 7. Cf. Isidore, p. 162, 1-2.

88. His stay abroad lasted four years. He travelled to Italy, France and Britain. On the way he visited Venice, Padua, Pavia, Milan, probably Florence and most likely Rome. Concerning his visit to Rome the existing evidence, though sparse, is sufficiently strong to allow one to make such an assumption. The evidence for this comes from different sources. The *Le livre des faicts* (Bk. I, ch. 36, p. 139) mentions a meeting with the Pope, though without specifying whether Boniface IX or the anti-pope at Avignon was the person in question. On the other hand the Greek anonymous orator categorically states that the Emperor visited Rome. Though the

ἀκάθεκτος εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ οὔτε τοῦτον ἦν ὁ ἐπισχήσων, οὔθ' ὁ βοηθήσων τῷ ἀδελφῷ. 'Εμοὶ γὰρ εἶχε μόνῳ θαρρεῖν, ᾧ πολλαχῶς ἐνόσει τὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὕτω πέπτωκεν ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ μακρῷ τοῦ πολέμου χρόνῳ, ὡς εἰς αὐτὸ δοκεῖν ἥκειν τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν δεινῶν καὶ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν ἐλπίδα ὑπολελεῖφθαι κεχρημένῳ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις. Ὑπῆρχε γοῦν ἐμοί τε κἀκείνῳ διττὸς ὁ φόβος, ἑκατέρῳ τε ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ καὶ ἀμφοῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων. Κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν f.23v δρομέων προϊὸν τὸ δυσχερὲς πᾶ|σαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα μονονοὺ παντάπασιν ἀφῃρήκει. 'Αλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν δέδοκται καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις τῶν συμμαχούντων ἐς 'Ιταλίαν πορεύεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ Γαλλίας τὰς κάτω καὶ Βρεττανίαν αὐτήν· πεῖσαι γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως δι' ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς δυναμένους ἡμῖν ἀμύνειν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει θελῆσαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναβολὰς καὶ ὑπερθέσεις χωρεῖν· τοῦτο δὴ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν. Πάντων οὖν ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν γνώμην, ὡς γὰρ ἐξ ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν τε ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, οὕτω κἀκ τῶνδε μετέπειτα πρὸς οὕς γ' ἐχρῆν μετεδόθη, τὸ δόξαν διεπράττετο. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρῶ γε περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ πλέον, οὐδὲ μηκυνῶ τὸν λόγον ἐνδιατρίβων τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν μακρὰν ἐκείνην ἀποδημίαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀφῆκα τὴν ναῦν οὕτω πλεῖν ὡς ἄν ποτε τύχοι ἢ κυβερνᾶσθαι ὑπό τινος τῶν εἰς ἀρχὴν

---

10. ἐς PWVa: εἰς V | 11. Βρεττανία codd. v. infra p. 175,*28*.

---

author composed his oration some twenty years after the event, it was addressed to the emperor John VIII soon after his return from the West on 1 November 1424 and while Manuel II was still alive. It is therefore unlikely that the author would have erred on such a point. Moreover, he seems very well informed and reliable. For example, he mentions that when Manuel left for the West to appeal for help he took with him holy relics which St. Helena had brought from Palestine (*PP* III, pp. 206, 25-207, 3; p. 220, 13-15). This statement is corroborated by three extant letters patent Manuel issued in Paris to King Charles III of Navarre, Boniface IX and Margaret, Queen of Denmark, sometime between August 1400 and November 1402 confirming the authenticity of the relics he sent them (C. Marinesco, «De nouveau sur les rélations de Manuel Paléologue (1391-1425) avec l'Espagne», *SBN,* 7 (1953), 422-4; G. T. Dennis, «Two unknown documents of Manuel II Palaeologus», *Travaux et Mémoires,* 3 (1968), 397-404). There is no reason therefore to dispute the validity of the orator's statement concerning the Emperor's visit to Rome. Moreover evidence gleaned by Halecki from the papal bull of 27 May 1400 seems to confirm that Manuel visited Boniface IX in the spring of 1400, sometime between

sail at random nor to be steered by any ordinary man such as is sometimes placed in charge of a small merchant vessel by show of hands or by chance. But since my son was not yet old enough to rule, by the best of good fortune I came to terms with my nephew and placed him at the helm until, God willing, I should return[89]. My brother was much pained at my going away and felt more despondent than before[90]. To him my departure seemed the same as bereavement. The voyage was long, my absence abroad much longer, and my affairs were so uncertain, that to return home at all after a long time, was indeed my greatest wish. And my brother's affairs were not in a hopeful state either, in view of what seemed likely to happen[91]. But his spirit did not surrender as any other man wrestling with the difficulties with which he was faced might have done. He showed his powers of endurance in circumstances brooking no delay and he tried to find

---

his departure from Venice and his arrival in Milan from where he set out on his way to France («Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident», *Collectanea Theologica*, (Lwów) 18 (1937), 514-15). The time factor will allow for such a supposition. For unlike what is generally assumed (Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 171 repeating earlier works), Manuel did not arrive in Venice in April 1400. In fact he had already left the Republic by 27 February 1400 (Misti 44, f.145^v: *Cum serenissimus dominus imperator Constantinopolis in isto suo recessu...*). The belief that the Emperor arrived in Venice on 4 April or soon after is based on an erroneous interpretation of an entry of that date in the Maggior Consiglio 21, f.105^v: *Cum consultum fuerit de possendo expendere pro honorando dominum Chiermanoli imperatorem Constantinopolitanum ducatos CC ... Vadit pars quod expensa fieri potuerit sicut consultum et factum fuit.* This simply records a decision taken earlier on to honour the Emperor, without specifying the manner, and this had already been done.

If the time factor for a visit to Rome poses no difficulty, the testimony of Macarius, bishop of Ancyra, however does. Macarius, who accompanied the Emperor to the West, in his Τόμος καταλλαγῆς κατὰ Λατίνων (ed. Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Jassi 1692, p. 175) mentions *en passant* a number of cities he visited in Italy but he does not name Rome. It is probably unlikely that he would have failed to mention Rome if he had visited it. On the other hand it would be wrong to conclude from this that Manuel did not visit Rome either. For it is possible for the Emperor to have made the journey to Rome in the company of a smaller party while the rest of his entourage waited for him elsewhere.

89. This was the second reconciliation between the two. The first, of short duration, took place in 1393 when Manuel adopted John VII as his son and successor while John adopted Manuel's son John VIII as his heir to throne (Loenertz, «Une erreur», pp. 384, 391-2). This second reconciliation seems to have been brought about by the mediation of maréchal Boucicaut, and John returned

καταστάντων μικρᾶς τινος ὁλκάδος ἐνίοτε ἢ κατὰ κλῆρον ἢ κατὰ τύχην. Ἀλλ' ἐπεί μοι παῖς οὐκ ἦν ἐφ' ἡλικίᾳ οἵᾳ τε ἄρχειν, τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐμαυτῷ διαλλάξας κρατίστῃ τύχῃ, ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων αὐτὸν ἐκάθισα, ἕως, εἰ βούλοιτο τὸ θεῖον, ὑποστρέψαιμι. Ὁ δ' οὖν ἀδελφὸς κἀν τούτῳ πολὺ βληθείς, τῷ μεταβῆναί με λέγω, ἠθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν· ἦν γὰρ ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ ὥσπερ ὀρφανία τὸ πρᾶγμα. Μακρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀπόπλους, μακροτέρα δὲ πολλῷ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀποδημία, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν ἀδήλῳ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ τὸ μετὰ μακρόν με χρόνον ἐπανελθεῖν εὐκτόν γε δήπουθεν εἶναι. Ἦν μὲν οὖν πάντα τὰ 'κείνου ἐν οὐκ ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσι τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν ἐπομένων τοῖς τότε πράγμασιν· ὁ δὲ μὴ πάντη καταπεσών, ὃ κἂν ἄλλος ἔπαθεν ἐνί τῳ προσπαλαίων τῶν δεινῶν ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ὑφίστατο, καρτερικὸς φαινόμενος ἐν καιροῖς οὐ συγχωροῦσιν ἀναβολήν, ἐζήτει πῶς ἰάσεται

---

1. χειροτονίαν PVWVa et mg. *γρ.* κλῆρον PV | 5. κἀν τούτῳ πολὺ βληθεὶς PVW: πολὺ βληθεὶς κἀν τούτῳ Va. | 13. οὐκ ἀνεχομένοις ἀναβολῆς PVW: mg. *γρ.* οὐ συγχωροῦσιν ἀναβολὴν P: in textu Va.

---

from Selymbria to Constantinople on 4 December 1399 to assume power during his uncle's absence (*Le livre des faicts*, Bk. I, ch. 34, p. 134; CBB I, 35 §§ 4-5, p. 285; Symeon, pp. 45, *22-46, 2*; Isidore, p. 161, 26-30). Manuel while in Venice in the winter of 1400 showed the Signoria a copy of the peace treaty he had signed with John (1400.III.26, Misti 45, f.6^{v}: *vidimus etiam instrumentum pactorum et conventionum nobis ostensum per prefatum dominum imperatorem Hemanuelem initorum inter eundem et suam excellentiam* (i.e. John VII) *vigore quorum sua maiestas remansit in dominio et regimine Constantinopolis et imperii;* cf. MM II, pp. 359-60).

90. On his way to Venice Manuel put into Monemvasia to leave his wife and children with Theodore (Isidore, p. 162, 4-12; 1400.II.27, Misti 44, f. 145^{v}). Anxious at the growing Turkish pressure Theodore, through his ambassador, had already asked Venice for a safe conduct to her territories *pro se, uxore, filiis, nobilibus suis ... ita quod possint libere et sine aliqua molestia venire, stare et recedere.* This was granted on 30.XII.1399 (Misti 44, f.133^{v}). The «filiis» must refer to Theodore's illegitimate sons.

91. Their fears of the impending Turkish attacks is reflected in Manuel's renewed request to the Republic during his stay there. He asked the Signoria to grant asylum to his brother and to his own family either in Crete, Coron, Modon or Venice should the need arise. The Senate agreed on 27 February 1400 to give them refuge in Venice and this decision was communicated to Manuel's representatives, since the emperor had already left Venice (Misti 44, f.145^{v}).

ways of healing the disease. And lo and behold he found it. The means by which he solved the problem are obvious to all after the event, but at the time I think that they were apparent only to a very few, since it was in our interests to maintain secrecy. For if the enemy had suspected the drama (for it was an excellent piece of play-acting put on with impeccable skill) it would have failed. And its success entirely depended on its remaining a secret. Hence most people who saw what was going on but knew nothing of the hidden plan wrongly assumed that certain things had happened to him. They thought that as he was unable any longer to bear the never-ending troubles and wished to escape from them he placed his security before what was right. Thus by concealing his thoughts for a time he sacrificed his own renown for the common good, he who had always faced danger for the sake of glory. In a minute we shall proceed to unfold the drama but meanwhile let us resume our speech so that we proceed in good order.

There was a community in Rhodes composed of men who had vowed to the Saviour chastity, obedience and poverty and who had also promised to fight those who strove against the Cross, and they were accustomed to bear the sign of the Cross on their clothes, their arms and banners and on everything where due respect permitted[92]. For three years I think they held Corinth which my brother had ceded to them with my mother's consent and mine[93]. Let no one marvel at this. We are not so wretched, spineless or stupid as to prefer those strangers to ourselves. But it was inevitable that either the city would be conquered by the besiegers, that is the Turks, or that it must be given to those who were able to save it from impending peril. Since we were unable to save it ourselves, it appeared to us that of available possibilities the Hospitallers were best[94]. The reason was that they were

92. The Hospitallers, Knights of Rhodes.

93. This occurred in 1397 shortly after the Venetians had turned down Theodore's offer on 29 April 1397 (Misti 43, f.183^{v} (= *Régestes* I, p. 218, no. 933); Chrysostomides, «Corinth», pp. 99-100). The sale of the city to the Hospitallers (and most probably to the Venetians) had been discussed among the Palaeologi months earlier since the Empress died sometime between October and December 1396 (Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 248 n. 5).

94. Negotiations with Asen Zaccaria, the baron of Chalandritsa, were well under way in March 1397 when the castellans of Coron and Modon thought it vital for Venice to acquire the city. The sale to Zaccaria did not materialise because the

τὸ λυποῦν. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐξεῦρεν. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος νῦν μὲν δῆλος f.24 ἅπασι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι, τότε δέ, οἶμαι, ὀλί| γοις, οὕτω γὰρ ἠνάγκαζε τὸ συμφέρον. Εἰ γὰρ ὅλως ὑπωπτεύετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸ δρᾶμα (δρᾶμα γὰρ ἦν ἀτεχνῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀρίστη τέχνη τότε γενόμενον) οὐκ ἄν ποτ' εἶχε λυσιτελῆσαι. Τὸ γὰρ δυνηθῆναι περᾶναι ὅλως ἦν ἐν τῷ λεληθέναι. Ὅθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον ὁρῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ βάθος οὐ γινώσκοντες ὑπενόουν ὅπερ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ συνέβαινε· μηδὲ γὰρ ἔτι φέρειν δυνάμενον τοὺς ἐπαλλήλους κινδύνους, τούτων ἀφεστάναι βουλεύσασθαι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς πρὸ τοῦ καλοῦ θέμενον. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος πρὸς καιρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας τὴν ἰδίαν προὔδωκε δόξαν ἐν τῷ κρύπτειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὁ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀεὶ δεχόμενος τοὺς κινδύνους. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δρᾶμα προϊόντες δηλώσομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀνωτέρω τὸν λόγον ἀγάγωμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐτάκτως βαδίσωμεν.

Ὑπῆρχον ἡ ἐν Ῥόδῳ κοινότης, ἄνδρες ἀζυγίαν, ὑποταγήν, ἀκτημοσύνην ὑπισχνούμενοι τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ πολεμεῖν τοῖς τῷ σταυρῷ πολεμοῦσιν, ὃν οἴδε φέρειν εἰώθεσαν κἀπὶ τῶν ἐσθήτων, κἀπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, κἀπὶ τῆς σημαίας ἁπανταχοῦ, ἵν' ἂν εἴη διασῴζεσθαι τὸ σεμνόν, Κόρινθον ἐκ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τριῶν ἐτῶν, οἶμαι, προεσχηκότες, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας. Τοῦτο δὲ μηδεὶς θαυμαζέτω. Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἄθλιοι οὐδὲ μαλακοί τινες καὶ ἀβέλτεροι, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους προκρῖναι. Οὔσης δὲ πάσης ἀνάγκης, ἤτοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν — τοὺς Τούρκους λέγω — ἤ τισι ταύτην δοθῆναι τῶν δυναμένων ἐκείνην σῶσαι τοῦ προκειμένου κινδύνου, ἡμῶν γε τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένων, αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον ἔδοξε προκριθῆναι,

---

25. αὐτοὺς PVVa: αὐτὸς W.

Byzantine archons objected to the deal. Venice however, considering that expansion at this crucial stage would be ill-advised, turned the proposal down on 29 April 1397 (Lettere di Rettori no. 65; Misti 43, f.183^{v} (= *Régestes* I, p. 218, no. 933).

well disposed towards us[95], moreover they had the reputation of not breaking their oaths and of having sufficient strength to do what was required. They also possessed more enthusiasm in dealing with these matters than some who might be more powerful than they were[96]. The plan was put into effect and greatly benefited the Peloponnese as time has indeed clearly revealed. This action, as experience has shown, has put an end to enemy attacks and incursions. For our barbarian neighbours were unable to recruit on their own a strong army, and without collecting a large force they could not overrun our country for fear of such soldiers[97]. The only possibility would have been to recruit a big army from all parts over a period of time, but in so doing they would have to avoid being noticed by neighbouring cities from which rumour would spread to us. Such a policy would, I think, have been almost impossible. Once our enemies had been detected they would have risked suffering a defeat rather than inflicting one. So the cession of Corinth to the Hospitallers turned out to be a more advantageous event by far than when this admirable man recovered that city which up to then had been reft from the Roman empire[98]. This showed his superiority, his wisdom and expertise in public affairs which was certainly equal to that which gained him admiration when he conquered other cities. 'A time to get, a time to lose', and, as you know, this is the proverb of Solomon who regulated everything according to time[99]. Which of the two is the better? I say that to give in

---

95. See below p. 171, n. 102.

96. This remark most probably refers to Venice who refused to buy Corinth, though the Emperor might well have had in mind the powerful western countries in general. See above p. 166 n. 93.

97. Venetian sources substantiate Manuel's claims. In general there is a relative lull in hostilities in the Morea during 1398. Undoubtedly the military capability of the Hospitallers had proved a deterrent. In addition the Ottoman menace had forced all powers concerned to prepare for the defence of the area in greater scale and unity than in the past (1398.IX.7, Misti 44, f.61^{v} (= *Régestes* I, p. 221, no. 949); 1398.X.19, Misti 44, ff.67^{v}-68).

98. It was captured by Guillaume de Champlitte and Othon de la Roche sometime in 1209 or 1210 (J. Longnon, *Journal des Savants* (1946) 156-7). Thereafter it changed hands among various Latin lords, the last being the family of the Acciaiuoli. At his death in 1394 Neri left Corinth to his daughter Francesca, wife of Carlo Tocco, with certain stipulations. Theodore, dissatisfied with this arrangement, invaded the territories around Corinth and laid siege to the city but failed to take it. Finally, sometime between September/October and late January

ἅτε δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίως διακειμένους καὶ φήμης οὔσης περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἱκανὴν πρὸς f.24v τὸ ζητούμενον τηνικαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα προθύμους | ὄντας ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἰσχυροτέρους. Τοῦτο τέλος εἰληφὸς τοσούτῳ συνήνεγκε τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, ὅσῳ γε σαφῶς ὁ καιρὸς ἔδειξε. Τοῦτο τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, ὅσον ἡ πεῖρα παρέστησεν, ἀπεσόβησεν. Οὔτε γὰρ στρατιὰν ἀγείρειν ἰσχυρὰν οἴκοθεν εἶχον οἱ γειτονοῦντες βάρβαροι, οὔτε μὴ πρότερον εἰς πολὺ συναθροισθεῖσιν ἐκείνοις πλῆθος τὴν ἡμετέραν κατατρέχειν ἐξῆν δέει τοὺς τοιούτους στρατιώτας· τὸ δὲ πολλήν τινα ταύτην συγκροτηθῆναι καὶ διὰ χρόνου καὶ πολλαχόθεν (τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπολέλειπται) καὶ τὰς ὁμόρους πόλεις λαθεῖν, δι' ὧν ἡ φήμη μετεδίδοτο πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας, μικροῦ δεῖν, οἶμαι, ἀδύνατον. Γνωσθεῖσι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παθεῖν τι μᾶλλον συνέβαινεν ἢ δρᾶσαί που λυπηρόν. Τοῦτο πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῖς τότε συνήνεγκε πράγμασιν ἢ ὅτε ταύτην ἐπανεκτήσατο ὁ θαυμάσιος οὑτοσί, πολύν τινα χρόνον ἤδη προαποσπασθεῖσαν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. Τοῦτο τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιστήμην ὑψηλοτέραν ἀπέδειξεν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ ὅτε θαυμαζόμενος οὗτος ἦν τῷ κτᾶσθαι πόλεις ἑτέρας. Ἔστι γὰρ καιρὸς λαβεῖν καὶ καιρὸς πάντως προέσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο σολομώντειος δόξα, εἰ μέμνηταί τις ἐκείνου τῷ καιρῷ πάντα νέμοντος. Θάτερον μέντοι τοῖν εἰρημένοιν — λέγω δὴ τὸ σὺν

---

20. Ecclesiasticus 3.1-8.

---

4. συνετέλεσε PVW et mg. *γρ.* συνήνεγκε P: Va | 7-10. pr. vers. οὔτε γὰρ μὴ πρότερον εἰς πολὺ συναθροισθεῖσιν ἐκείνοις πλῆθος, τὴν ἡμετέραν κατατρέχειν ἐξῆν, δέει τοὺς τοιούτους στρατιώτας, οὔτε στρατιάν ἀγείρειν ἰσχυρὰν οἴκοθεν εἶχον οἱ γειτονοῦντες βάρβαροι· τὸ δὲ πολλήν et per. s.s. α´β´γ´ sec. vers. P: sec. vers. adopt. VWVa.

1396, he came to an arrangement with Carlo Tocco from whom he bought Corinth for the sum of 6,000 golden ducats plus an annual rent of 600 ducats in perpetuity (for the relevant sources see Chrysostomides «Corinth», p. 85ff.). These territories included the castle and castellany of Corinth which comprised Vasilicata (Lettere di Rettori No. 76, f.2v. See also the list of fiefs and castles for the year 1377: A. T. Luttrell, «The Principality of Achaea in 1377», *BZ*, 57 (1964), 340-45; Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 691).

99. Eccles. 3:1-8.

time of need is a most commendable and rare thing. For on the whole most men are aware of the present but neglect the future since it lies in the unknown. That is to say very few people would accept a small diminution of their present possessions in return for an increase which is in the future. But he was not like those people who perceive only what is before their eyes. On the contrary, more than any other man he looked ahead into the future and continually took care of everything. So when he saw the city exhausted by a long siege, he was aware of what would certainly happen, namely, that the besieging barbarians would capture it within a short time[100] and that as soon as they had done so they would conquer more cities and the evil would spread to a greatest extent. He therefore considered that to sacrifice this one city would indeed be a real gain, otherwise should only lose more cities as well as this one. In so acting he was like men caught in a tempest who jettison much of their cargo with their own hands, for they know that this is to their advantage, not because they enjoy throwing their cargo overboard, but because they realise that if they attempt to keep everything in foul weather they may well miserably lose everything. So in the first instance this great man demonstrated his greatness when he obtained possession of the famous city after much expense, much toil and many dangers[101]. Similarly he did so, when he made the right choice in his bestowal and assigned the city to the most appropriate people. For when it was no longer possible for him to save it, there was no better solution than to grant it to the Hospitallers who magnificently promised to help us with all means at their disposal. How justly therefore is he admired, for instead of allowing its certain fall into the infidel hands of the enemy, he entrusted it to friends and Christians, and thanks to this he acquired allies in his war against the Turks. And for sometime we had had good relations with these men. Hence when I was once forced to ask our friends for every kind of help for the public safety it was they who gave us substantial naval assistance[102]. In doing this they were moved by a sense of honour and duty. For they had no

100. The attack and siege of Corinth must have taken place in late spring/early summer of 1397 when Yakup paşa invaded the Morea and captured Argos on 3 June (Chron. Mor. § 19, pp. 406, 424; S. Mar 4, f.76^v:1451.VII.26). The impending attack was already rumoured in March 1397 (Lettere di Rettori No. 65).

101. When Theodore besieged Corinth in 1394 Carlo Tocco had recourse to the

τῷ καιρῷ δοῦναι — ὑψηλὸν καὶ οὐ τῶν πολλῶν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πάντως εἰς τὸ παρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι βλέπουσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὀλιγωροῦντες τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐν ἀδήλῳ τούτοις κειμένου, δηλονότι τῶν ὀλίγων ἐστὶ σμικρὰν ἀφαίρεσιν δέξασθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ μεγίστης μήπω παρούσης. Ἀλλ᾽ οὗτός γε οὐ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μόνον βλέποντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον προεωρᾶτο εἴπερ τις ἄλλος καὶ περὶ πάντων ἑξῆς ἐφρόντιζε τῶν πραγμάτων. Ὅθεν ἐξησθενηκυῖαν ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν τῷ πολιορκεῖσθαι μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸ ἐσόμενον f.25 πάντως | ὥσπερ ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἔχων, ὡς οἱ πολιορκοῦντες βάρβαροι παραστήσονται μὲν αὐτὴν οὐ μετὰ πολύν τινα χρόνον, παραστήσονται δὲ πλείους εὐθὺς ἐκείνης κρατήσαντες καὶ χωρήσει τὸ δεινὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἡγήσατο τὸ ταύτην προέσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πλείους συνάμα ταύτῃ κέρδος οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐῴκει ταῦτα πράττων τοῖς σφοδρῷ ληφθεῖσι κλύδωνι, οἳ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀγωγίμων ἀποβαλλόμενοι κέρδος τὴν ζημίαν ἡγοῦνται, οὐχ ἁπλῶς τῷ πράγματι χαίροντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλοντες ἔχειν, τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τοὐναντίον βιαζομένου, τὸ πᾶν κακῶς ἀπολέσωσιν. Ὥστε καθάπερ τὸ πρὶν εἰληφὼς ταυτηνὶ τὴν πολυύμνητον πόλιν ἀναλώμασι μὲν πολλοῖς, πλείοσι δὲ πόνοις, κινδύνοις δὲ ὅ τι πλείστοις, μέγας ὢν καὶ δέδεικται, οὕτω καὶ τότε δεδωκὼς ἡνίκα τε καὶ οἷς ἐχρῆν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἄλλως βέλτιον δεδωκέναι, ὅτε γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνην ἔτι διασῴζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Φρερίοις, καὶ μετὰ λαμπρῶν ὑποσχέσεων βοηθεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκείνους ἅπασι τρόποις. Πόσον οὖν θαυμάζεσθαι δίκαιος, εἰ ὅπερ πάντως ἔμελλεν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χερσίν, ἀπίστων ὄντων, ἔσεσθαι, τοῦτο φίλοις καὶ χριστιανοῖς ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ ταύτῃ γε συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἐκτήσατο τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους πολέμου· καὶ πάλαι γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐν συνηθείᾳ πως εἴχομεν. Ὅθεν καί ποτε δεῆσαν παντοδαπὴν βοήθειαν ἡμᾶς ζητεῖν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας παρὰ τῶν φίλων, οὐ σμικρὰν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνοι διὰ θαλάττης παρέσχοντο, φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ χρέος βοηθεῖν

Turks who under Evrenos bey routed Theodore's armies before Corinth in late February 1395 and nearly took him prisoner. The Despot was able to resume the siege when the Turks withdrew and finally compelled Tocco to sell him the entire castellany of Corinth (see above p. 168, n. 98).

102. He refers to the events of 1390 when John VII captured Constantinople. With the naval help of the Hospitallers Manuel succeeded in ousting his nephew (CBB I, 7 §§ 21, 22, pp. 68-9, II, pp. 340-1).

obligation to act in this way as though they were repaying a debt, nor had they sworn any oath to this effect, as happened in the treaty concerning Corinth[103]. Here there is an obvious difference between these two cases. For it is far better for a man to receive something as repayment of a debt than as a favour. So he did not give the city to the Hospitallers but rather with the help of the city he won them over to his cause.

Moreover I ought to demonstrate more clearly how extensive the disaster would have been had not the situation been dealt with in this way. For if we recollect the precise time and circumstance, this city would undoubtedly have immediately perished at the hands of the barbarians. Even had the enemy not destroyed it either by fire or by sword, but having captured it by treachery had held it for a while, this would only have been done in order to trick neighbouring cities to surrender to them. It would have been natural for these cities to be deceived by the barbarian's pretence of humanity and to prefer to enslave themselves rather than to be destroyed as a result of the war. The fact that their metropolis, Corinth, had suffered no evil after it had been conquered would naturally have weakened their resolution and made them wholeheartedly hope that they too would not suffer. Indeed you will find that to be guided by reason is not a characteristic of ordinary men, while to arrange one's life according to precedent is not a characteristic of wiser ones. If the trick had succeeded (and it would have been entirely successful) the suffering would have been endless. Therefore for all these reasons just mentioned Theodore allowed the Hospitallers to take over this city and gave it to them both for its own safety and for the safety of the other cities and towns. So that the city which had been practically taken by enemies was snatched back from their hands by him in order to entrust it to the Hospitallers. And if this in itself is entirely commendable, how much more so is it when it achieved the salvation of other cities faced by innumerable dangers? It is indeed so.

103. No document concerning the sale of Corinth survives, but perhaps we can safely assume that the castellany was handed over to the Hospitallers on conditions very similar to those set out by Theodore in his negotiations with the Venetians in March 1397. On that occasion, financial considerations apart, Theodore insisted on

ἡμῖν ὀφείλοντες ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ὠμωμόκεσαν ὑπὲρ τούτου, ὡς ἐν ταῖς συμβάσεσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ Κορίνθου· καὶ τοῖνδε τὸ διάφορον ὅσον δῆλον. Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ χρέος διδόντων τινὰ λαμβάνειν τοῦ κατὰ χάριν πολλῷ προέχει. Οὐ μᾶλλον τοίνυν αὐτὴν δέδωκε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις ἢ δι' αὐτῆς αὐτοὺς ἔλαβεν.

f.25v Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἶμαι προσήκειν δεῖξαι σαφέστερον ὅσον ἂν ἦν τὸ κακόν, μὴ ταύτῃ γεγονότος τοῦ πράγματος. Εἰ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μεμνήμεθα, αὐτίκα πάντως ἔμελλεν ἥδε ἡ πόλις ἔσεσθαι βαρβαρικαῖς χερσὶ παρανάλωμα. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς καιρόν, πάντως δὲ κατὰ ἀπάτην κατεῖχον αὐτὴν λαβόντες οἱ δυσμενεῖς, μήτε πυρί, μήτε σιδήρῳ διαφθείραντες, τοῦτ' ἂν αὐτίκα πρόφασις ἐγεγόνει ταῖς ὁμόροις αὐτῇ πόλεσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς βαρβάρους γενέσθαι. Εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτὰς ἐξαπατηθείσας τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων δοκούσῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ δουλεῦσαι τούτοις βουλεύσασθαι πρὸ τοῦ πορθηθῆναι πολέμῳ. Τὸ γὰρ ἁλοῦσαν τὴν Κόρινθον, μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν οὖσαν, μηδέν τι πεπονθέναι δεινὸν τό τε τούτων φρόνημα κατέβαλεν ἂν εἰκότως καὶ κομιδῇ παρέσχεν ἐλπίζειν, ὡς ἄρ' οὐδ' αὗται πείσονται· ἐπεί τοι τὸ μὲν ἄγεσθαι λόγῳ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων ἂν εὕροις, τὸ δὲ ῥυθμίζεσθαι παραδείγματι τῶν οὐ σοφωτέρων. Καὶ εἴ γε τοῦτο προὐβεβήκει οὕτω, προὐβεβήκει δ' ἂν πάντως, ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἂν ἐχώρει τὸ δεινόν. Καὶ δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕνεκα πάντων συνεχώρησε λαβεῖν τοὺς Φρερίους τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ἄλλων πολιχνίων τε καὶ πόλεων, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ὅμως δοθείσης. Ὥσθ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προειλημμένην τῆς αὐτῶν χειρὸς αὐτὴν ἐξανέσπασε τῷ τοῖς Φρερίοις αὐτὴν ἐγχειρίσαι. Καὶ εἰ τοῦτό γε καλὸν καὶ καθ' αὑτὸ θεωρούμενον, ὁπότε δὴ καὶ πόλεις ἑτέρας πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο, πῶς οὐ μάλιστα· εἶεν.

---

2. συμβάσεσι PVVa: συμβιβάσεσι W | 3-4 γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | ὡραῖον mg. P | 12. τοῖς βαρβάροις PVW: -ους s.s. PVW: τοὺς βαρβάρους Va | 18-19 γνωμικὸν mg. codd.

---

the sale of Corinth forming an integral part of a defensive military alliance against the Turks to safeguard Byzantine territories in the Morea (Lettere di Rettori 182; Chrysostomides, «Corinth», pp. 98-100).

Once the Hospitallers were in possession of Corinth, a well-fortified, fine large city, controlling the Isthmus which was provided with defensive works, they desired to possess the whole of the Peloponnese[104]. And to judge by what they said and obstinately maintained whenever they revealed their own thoughts to those whom they trusted, they had reason to do so. Bound by their true vows to stand by their faith, they said that if ever they wholeheartedly undertook a war in defense of the Peloponnese they would give all their wealth, and if necessary their lives, to achieve great deeds for the glory of Christ. People naturally believed them, even though they had not taken an oath, for nothing they said was at variance with their strength, or with their universal fame, or with the rules of the order according to which they live, think, govern themselves, seek honour and are honoured, have been honoured in the past and hope to be honoured in future. Let no one assume by looking at their few galleys stationed in Rhodes that the strength of the Hospitallers is weak and feeble[105]. When they wish to do so a great number of them can assemble from all over the world where they are scattered — men for whom there is nothing more important than what is conducive to good courage, warfare and a noble spirit[106]. To them it is far better to die with glory than to offer their enemies the opportunity to exulting over inflicting wounds on the backs of men who are in retreat. They also possess large and numerous cities and have considerable wealth to spend derived from the revenues of the places given to them by God-loving men with the sole purpose to serving God, I mean by assisting their struggle against the infidel. It was these various reasons that made the Hospitallers covet the Peloponnese.

Yet there was another factor which goaded the Hospitallers in their desire to occupy the Peloponnese. The nations of the western lands, the French, the Spanish and the British, in short all the leaders of the Latin world and the nations they rule do not move at all readily

---

104. The fortifications of Corinth were in bad repair when Niccoló Martoni visited the city in 1395 (*ROL,* 3 (1895), 658-9). Undoubtedly the Hospitallers renovated and fortified them (see below p. 190 n. 117). The defensive works refer to the wall of Hexamilion which barred the Isthmus.

105. This remark would indicate that the emperor had first hand experience of the island of Rhodes, confirmed by the Short Chronicle CBB I, 7, § 21, p. 68.

106. In the fourteenth century the Order was grouped in seven nations or

Ἔχοντας δὴ τὴν Κόρινθον, πόλιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην, κατέχουσάν τε τὸν Ἰσθμόν, πρὸς ᾧ καλῶς ᾠκοδόμητο, ἔρως σφᾶς γε εἰσελήλυθεν ἅπασαν ἑξῆς κατασχεῖν τὴν γῆν τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ὡς ἀγαθός — λέγω δὲ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνων καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρίζοντο, ἡνίκα τὴν αὐτῶν βουλὴν ἀπεκάλυπτον οἷς ἐθάρρουν. Ὅρκων γὰρ προηγουμένων ἀξίων πεῖσαι πιστεύειν, ἔλεγον καὶ | f.26 τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπασαν καὶ σώματα ἀναλώσειν, ἂν οὕτω δέῃ, καὶ ἁπλῶς μεγάλα πράξειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόξης, εἰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πόλεμον καθαρῶς ἀναδέξαιντο. Ἐπιστεύοντο δ' ἂν εἰκότως καὶ οὐκ ὀμνύντες μηδὲν ἀπᾷδον λέγοντες, μήτε τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως, μήτε τῆς ἑκασταχόσε διακεχυμένης περὶ αὐτῶν φήμης, μήτε μὴν τοῦ σχήματος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ζῶσι καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πολιτεύονται καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τιμῶνται καὶ τετίμηνται καὶ τιμήσεσθαι ἐλπίζουσι τὸν ἑξῆς χρόνον. Μηδεὶς οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ὁρῶν καὶ τὰς εὐαριθμήτους ἐκεῖ τριήρεις, μικράν τινα καὶ ἀδρανῆ τὴν τῶν Φρερίων ἰσχὺν νομιζέτω. Πολλοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι συναθροίζονται βουληθέντες ἐκ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν, ἃ δὴ σποράδην οἰκοῦσιν, ἄνδρες οἷς οὐδέν τι προὐργιαίτερον ἢ ὅσα φέρει πρὸς εὐψυχίαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ γενναιότητα. Τὸ γὰρ δὴ τεθνάναι σὺν δόξῃ πολὺ βέλτιον ἄγουσι τοῦ τραπέντες παρασχέσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων αὐτῶν πληγαῖς ἐφησθῆναι. Ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὔτε σμικρὰς οὔτε ῥᾳδίως ἀριθμουμένας καὶ χρήμαθ' ὅ τι πλεῖστα ἀναλίσκειν, τὰς ἀπὸ τουτωνὶ τῶν πόλεων εἰσφοράς, αἳ δὴ τούτοις δέδονται παρ' ἀνδρῶν θεοφιλῶν μιᾷ καὶ μόνῃ προφάσει θεοφιλεῖ, λέγω δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς μάχην. Ταυτὶ δὴ συνερχόμενα ἐπιθυμῆσαι Ῥοδίοις προὐξένησε τῆς Πελοποννήσου.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο κέντρον ἐγένετο τῇ τῶν Φρερίων ἐπιθυμίᾳ· οἱ γὰρ τῶν ἑσπερίων μερῶν Γαλάται καὶ Ἱσπανοὶ καὶ Βρετανοὶ καί, συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, οἱ τῶν Λατίνων ἄρχοντες πάντες καὶ τὰ ὑπ'

---

2. ᾧ PVVa: ᾧ γε W | 28. Βρετανοὶ codd. cf. supra p. 163,*11*.

---

tongues and these were: Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Spain, England and Germany. See J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusalem (1100-1310),* Paris 1894-1904, 4v.

like most peoples. But occasionally on a small pretext they recklessly set themselves in motion and once they start it is hard to hold them in. When they so desire they are capable of achieving a great deal, as the past has often clearly shown. This therefore occurred to the Hospitallers and it made them hopeful that many would share their eager desire and that leaders of considerable forces would no longer sit still, giving themselves up to hunting, feasting and jousting, a custom which is considered greatly conducive to honour and which was handed down to them by their ancestors.

They hoped therefore — indeed they entirely and confidently believed — that they would attract a great force from those parts and that it would act like a spark capable of kindling a forest into the mightiest flame. Using Corinth as a starting point they hoped that this plan would militate against all infidels[107]. Bursting with such thoughts they could not contain themselves. But since it was not possible nor indeed easy to become masters of the Peloponnese by force, since we were against this, they thought of acquiring it by means of money, once they had the consent of its ruler and the approval of his subjects. Our misfortunes convinced them that this was the course to attempt, a thing they would never have contemplated had our affairs been happier[108]. They then thought of declaring their bold wish immediately, but, as they knew that intimating their plans through intermediaries might be dangerous, they presented themselves to the Despot with some deference, and by reason of the uncertain outcome of the plan they found it difficult to explain why they had come. They requested firstly that he should judge them kindly if they spoke their minds against his wishes as they were spurred on by good reasons; secondly that he

---

107. In the winter and spring of 1399 the renewed Turkish offensive (Misti 44, f.81 full text Noiret, p. 98; Misti 44, f.95^{v} (= *Régestes* I, pp. 222-3, nos. 956, 960) compelled the Hospitallers to reconsider their military capability. In an attempt to reinforce both their first and second lines of defence they planned to purchase Megara from Francesca Tocco and strengthen the Hexamilion in co-operation with the neighbouring powers (1399.VII.5; XI.23, AOM MS 330, ff.118^{v}-119, 120^{v}). In both objectives they failed. For the purchase of Megara the Order approached Theodore, most probably because being in the vicinity he represented his sister-in-law Francesca. That the relations between the two families had improved since their deal over Corinth is also confirmed by the fact that Manuel's wife was offered asylum in Santa Maura during her stay in the Peloponnese while the emperor travelled to the West (1400.II.27, Misti 44, f.145^{v}: *quod domina imperatrix non staret*

ἐκείνους ἔθνη κινοῦνται μὲν οὐ πάνυ ῥᾳδίως ὡς τὰ πολλά, κινοῦνται δ' οὖν καὶ εὐχερῶς ἔστιν ὅτε σμικρᾶς τινος προφάσεως λαβόμενοι, καὶ ὁρμηθέντες δυσκάθεκτοι λοιπὸν γίνονται· δύνανται δὲ πολλὰ βουληθέντες· καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρελθὼν σαφῶς πολλάκις παρέστησεν. Ἐπῄει τοίνυν τοῖς Φρερίοις ἐλπίζειν τῇ παρ' ἑαυτῶν f.26v ὁρ | μῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐφέψεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ λοιπὸν καθεδεῖσθαι, θήρᾳ καὶ τραπέζαις αὐτοὺς ἐκδόντας καί τισι μεθ' ὅπλων ἁμίλλαις, τὸ μεῖζόν τε εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἐκείνοις ἔργον κἀκ τῶν προγόνων ἄνωθεν κατερχόμενον.

Ἤλπιζον τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ κομιδῇ βεβαίως ἐθάρρουν μεγάλην ἐφελκύσειν ἐκεῖθεν δύναμιν καὶ φανήσεσθαι σπινθῆρα τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ὕλῃ εἰς φλόγα μεγίστην ἀναφθῆναι δυναμένῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἀσεβῶν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῇ τῆς Κορίνθου προφάσει γεγενημένον. Τούτους οὖν ὠδίνοντες τοὺς λογισμοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο κατέχειν ἑαυτούς· ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ οὐκ ἐξῆν οὐδέ γε ῥᾴδιον ἦν αὐτοῖς τῇ δυνάμει χρησαμένοις τὴν τῆς Πελοποννήσου δεσποτείαν ἀκόντων ἡμῶν λαβεῖν, βουλεύονται διὰ χρημάτων αὐτὴν κτήσασθαι γνώμῃ τε τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων συγκαταθέσει. Αἱ γὰρ ἡμέτεραι δυσπραγίαι τῷ τηνικαῦτα ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέμνηντο βέλτιον ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων. Ἡγοῦντο μὲν οὖν τολμηρὸν ἐξειπεῖν ἀμέσως τὸ βούλημα· πλὴν τὸ δι' ἑτέρων φράζειν κίνδυνον ἔχον εἰδότες, ἧκον αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὸν δεσπότην οὐκ ἄνευ δέους, καὶ τῷ τοῦ πράγματος ἀδήλῳ βαλλόμενοι μόγις ἐδυνήθησαν ἐξαγγέλλειν ὧν ἕνεχ' ἧκον. Ἀξιοῦσι δὴ πρῶτον μέν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην λέγοιεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῷ λογισμῷ κινουμένοις, ἔπειτα καὶ δεύτερον ἀπόρρητον παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέχειν τὸ

12. δυναμένῃ PVW: δυναμένην Va | 18. συνθήκῃ PVWVa et mg. *γρ.* συγκαταθέσει PVW.

bene in Malvasia vel in Maura...). There is no evidence however that the empress went there.

108. On 21 February 1400 Philibert de Naillac grand-master of the Hospitallers accredited five plenipotentiaries to negotiate the acquisition of the Despotate and opened a credit for 60,000 ducats for the transactions (AOM MS 330, f.122v-123).

should keep secret whatever they were to tell him; and thirdly that he should let them know as soon as possible whether he was willing to act upon their suggestion or not. When their request was granted, they immediately proceeded, but not in a straightforward and simple manner but in a devious way, trying to discover the Despot's thoughts, that is, whether he was hard-pressed and fatigued and might therefore want to be rid of difficulties and dangers. They wanted to know this in advance for if they knew that he was in this frame of mind (as they assumed him to be, given the situation and the provoking times), they should affect extreme propriety of behaviour when they broached the question of the treaty.

Since it was impossible (how could it be otherwise) that a man endowed with sagacity and great experience should not detect this, in the end they had to reveal their desires and thoughts by unfolding their project and putting it before him. Namely, that they wished to receive control of the whole Peloponnese if he were willing to grant this to them. He could easily withdraw gradually from the region since he had been powerless to control it in view of the disastrous events suddenly bursting in upon evils which had followed in quick succession. They promised to pay him a considerable sum and to assist his family in every way. They put forward every argument that might persuade him. Finally they concluded their speech by beseeching him to decide in favour of the public good. In reply to them the Despot said that he would give them his answer the following day as it was not right that he should reply without due consideration. They left pleased that he had not altogether rejected their plan nor did he tell them that they were attempting the unattainable. And yet surprisingly enough this postponment was supposed to have the opposite effect on them, to arouse in them doubts so that they did not immediately entertain any firm hope. In that he was going through the most difficult phase so far, it was natural that they should confidently believe that he would accept their proposals[109]. It seemed that they had seized the opportunity presented to them by circumstances and had ventured to approach him and discuss the issue. However during the meeting they mistook his steadfastness and forbearance for contentiousness and stubborness and they doubtless thought that he would choose an arrogant and

---

109. See above p. 165 nn. 90-1.

ῥηθησόμενον, καὶ τρίτον θᾶττον ἀποκρίνασθαι, εἴτε πράττειν βουληθείη εἴτε μή. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνου δόντος, οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἐχώρουν, οὐ μέντοι κατ' εὐθεῖάν τε καὶ ἁπλῶς ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἑλικοειδῶς πορευόμενοι ἐπειρῶντο τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν κλέπτειν, εἰ ἄρα κεκμηκὼς ἐστι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσας καὶ βούλοιτ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ f.27 ἐπικινδύνων. Καὶ τοῦτο προγινώσκειν ἐβούλοντο, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν | θρύπτεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς συμβάσεις ἐλθόντες, εἰ γνοῖεν ὄντα τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἔκ τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν καιρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἐτεκμαίροντο.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν λαθεῖν — πόθεν; — τὸν πολλῇ μὲν συνέσει κεκοσμημένον, πολλῇ δὲ ἐμπειρίᾳ κομῶντα, ἀποκαλύπτουσι λοιπόν, διαπεταννύντες πᾶν πρόβλημα, τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησίν τε καὶ γνώμην, ὡς εἶεν δέξασθαι θέλοντες πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πελοποννήσου, εἰ βούλοιτό γε τοῖσδε παρέχειν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ οὗπερ οὐκ ἰσχύει δεσπόζειν, τούτου γε ῥᾳδίως ὑπεξιέναι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀπευκταίων ἀθρόον ἐπεισπεσόντων τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἐπαλλήλοις δεινοῖς. Συχνὸν οὖν ὑπισχνούμενοι καταθήσειν ἀργύριον καὶ λυσιτελήσειν ἅπαντα τρόπον παντὶ τῷ γένει καὶ μηδὲν παραλιπόντες οἷς πείθειν εἶχον, τελευτῶντες εὔχονται τὸ κοινῇ συνοῖσον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ καταλύουσιν ἐνταυθοῖ τὸν λόγον. Κἀκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρηκότος ἐς αὔριον ἀκούσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν πρέπειν αὐτῷ οὑτωσὶν ἀσκέπτως ἀποκρίνασθαι, οἵδ' ἀπιόντες ἔχαιρον τῷ μὴ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν παντάπασιν ἀπογινώσκειν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ μηδαμῶς τοῖς ἀνεφίκτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, καίτοι ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα θαυμάσαι· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἐχρῆν, τῇ ἀναβολῇ δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τῷ μὴ βεβαίας ἐλπίδας εὐθὺς λαβεῖν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῷ τηνικαῦτα χαλεπωτάτοις εἴπέρ ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκέχρητο, ἔδει πάντως αὐτοὺς θαρρεῖν ἀσμενέστατα αὐτὸν δέξεσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν λόγους. Οἱ δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προσελθεῖν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τολμῆσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λαβόντες, τὸ δὲ ἀκλινὲς καὶ καρτερικώτατον ἐκείνου φιλόνεικόν τε καὶ σκληρὸν νομίσαντες, ᾤοντο δήπουθεν αὐτὸν τὸ αὔθαδές τε καὶ κενόδοξον τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ συμφέροντος προτιμήσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ

---

4. cf. Homerum, *Ilias* 1.132; 14.217.

14-15. ἀπευκταίων (ex -έων) P: ἀπευκτέων VWVa. | 26. εἴπέρ PVW: ἤπέρ Va.

vainglorious course rather than what was good and expedient. That is why they rejoiced when he postponed giving his decision — searching for pigeon's milk!

And so they left, with their calculations upset and uncertain as to the outcome of their proposals. On the other hand he considered their project and their enthusiasm for the plan to be an unexpected piece of luck and he expressed his gratitude to the Saviour who had assisted him in this. For he truly wished to enter into negotiations on this very issue since he hoped that they would be able to deliver you from the present evils we regarded with such forebodings. And with the help of the divine grace this is precisely what happened. For as he knew that they desired this project he did not want to propose it to them since in this way he would be giving them an advantage in that they would consider that he was begging them to undertake it — a thing we usually do to those who are not very eager. So he did not know how to bring it about the very thing he wanted, I mean that they should be the first to broach the matter. Therefore when he saw this happen of its own volition he rightly attributed it to divine Providence. Had the outcome not been successful and according to his plan I should naturally have been simply afraid to use words I have just spoken and would not have said anything of his excellent desire — I call it excellent because in time all turned out well, including the windfall whereby the Hospitallers thought that they were the first to broach the question of the treaty. Nor would I maintain that we can dispense with Providence because what seemed at first difficult, later became easy. The majority of men are not interested in the essential nature of a deed, why and in what manner a man accomplishes it, but they simply look at the outcome. Since the outcome of this event has already pleaded my cause for me, I have spoken out boldly. But I am compelled to speak more clearly, as far as I am able, and in the course of my narrative to set out step by step the account of the circumstances surrounding this particular undertaking. It is imperative to show clearly with whose good will it was contrived and how as a result of this drama things took a turn for the better.

He realised that a number of simultaneous blows had exhausted

f.27v τοῦτο τὴν ἀναβολὴν ἠσμενίσαντο | καὶ τὸ μὴ τούτους ἀκηκοέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ· λύκου πτερὰ ζητεῖν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντες συγκεχυμένους τοὺς λογισμούς, περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἀμφιβάλλοντες ἀπήλλαξαν. Ὁ δὲ τὴν τούτων βούλησιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα προθύμους εἶναι ἕρμαιον ἡγησάμενος ἀνωμολόγει χάριτας τῷ συνεργοῦντι Σωτῆρι. Ἐπεθύμει μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ἐλπίζων ἀπὸ τούτων ὑμᾶς ἀπαλλάξαι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν τε παρόντων, τῶν θ' ὑφορωμένων δεινῶν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ γέγονεν, οὐρανόθεν θείας χάριτος συνεφαπτομένης τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Γινώσκων δ' ὅμως ἐκείνους ἐφιεμένους τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ ἐβούλετο προτεῖναι καὶ ταύτῃ δοῦναι τούτους πλεονεκτεῖν τῷ δοκεῖν παρακαλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ προθύμων. Ὅπερ τοίνυν ἐβούλετο μέν, οὐκ εἶχε δ' ὅπως ἐργάσεται — λέγω δὴ τὸ 'κείνους πρώτους ἐνάρξασθαι — τοῦτ' αὐτόματον ἰδὼν παραγεγονός, τὴν εὐκολίαν, εὖ ποιῶν, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ λελόγιστο. Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὴ καλῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξέβη καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μακαρίτῃ, ἐδεδίειν ἂν εἰκότως ἁπλῶς τοῖς λόγοις χρήσασθαι, ὡς δὴ προλαβὼν ἐχρησάμην, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀγαθὴν εἶπον ἄν — λέγω δὲ ἀγαθὴν διὰ τὸν καιρὸν μεθ' οὗ τὰ πάντα καλά — οὔτε μὴν τὸ ἕρμαιον ἐκεῖνον νομίσαι τὸ τοὺς Φρερίους πρὸς τὰς συμβάσεις πρώτους ἐλθεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ὕστερον εἰς εὐκολίαν τραπῆναι τὸ πρὶν δοκοῦν δυσχερὲς ἰσχυρισαίμην ἄν ποτ' ἐγὼ τὴν πρόνοιαν ᾠκονομηκέναι. Οἱ πλείους γὰρ οὐχ ὅπερ τις καὶ διὰ τί καὶ τίνα τοῦτο τρόπον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἐκβάσεις ἁπλῶς ὁρῶσιν. Αὐτοῦ δέ μοι τοῦ πράγματος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους ἤδη συνηγοροῦντος, θαρρούντως τουτοισὶν ἐχρησάμην τοῖς λόγοις. Ῥητέον δὲ ἡμῖν ἂν εἴη σαφέστερον καὶ ἀποδοτέον ἑξῆς τὰς περὶ τοῦ δράματος ὑποσχέσεις μεταξὺ τῆς ἄλλης διηγήσεως. Δεῖ γὰρ δηλῶσαι σαφῶς, τίνος τε χάριν τοῦτο συνέστη καὶ ὅπως εἰς τὸ βέλτιον
f.28 ἀποκατέστη τὰ πράγματα τουτουὶ τοῦ | δράματος ἕνεκα.

Ἑώρα πᾶν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐξησθενηκὸς πολλαῖς τισιν ἐπιφοραῖς

---

2. Libanius, *Epist.* 515,3; 1184,11; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 270; II, 509.

---

6. mg. Σωτῆρι P 14. 'κείνους πρώτους PVW: πρώτους ἐκείνους Va | 21. συμβάσεις PVVa: (ex συμβιβάσεις) W | 24. τοῦτο τρόπον PVW: τρόπον τοῦτο Va.

his realm. One such was the continual attack of the infidel which had gone on for a long while. On the other hand he knew that the Turks were more apprehensive of the Hospitallers than any other other power, for it had not escaped their knowledge that the Hospitallers had ramifications in a great and noble tree which dominated, so to speak, the whole of the western world. He naturally assumed that the Turks might reasonably suppose that this action concerning the Hospitallers, while benefiting the Christians, would have disastrous results for themselves. With all this in mind the admirable Theodore suspected that he would inevitably be in bad repute for a time, as he would equally inevitably be famed later on for having saved his people from danger. He therefore summoned the Hospitallers to his presence and speaking throughout entirely as he himself wished he told them what they desired to hear. They listened to him delightedly and hastened to draw up the treaty, and to ratify it, and then they swiftly returned to their country, as though on wings, and informed their leaders of the agreement[110]. And their leaders sailed on their long ships from Rhodes as fast as they could and reached the Peloponnese. To cut a long story short, they occupied a number of cities[111], but only after they had

110. Neither the date nor the actual treaty survives. But it must have been signed soon after 21 February 1400 (see above p. 177 n. 108) for Manuel makes it clear that the whole transaction was concluded within a short time. Such an assumption would support Schreiner's emendation of the date in the short chronicle CBB I, 24 § 4 from 6920 (= 1412) to 6908 (= 1400) concerning the occupation of Vatika by the Order. On the other hand his proposed correction from Vatika to Vasilika is inadmissible (CBB II, p. 364). As has been mentioned above (p. 168 n. 98) Vasilicata formed part of the castellany of Corinth which Theodore bought from Tocco and then sold to the Order in 1397. It is true, the earliest piece of evidence so far confirming that the Hospitallers were in charge of Vasilicata is a letter dated 23 August 1400. This is addressed by the Doge to the captain of Corinth Raymond de Lescure, asking him to examine the witnesses resident in the castellany of Corinth, including Vasilicata, that had testified on behalf of Giovanni Cremolisi against Francesca Tocco (Lettere di Rettori No. 76, f.1). On the other hand there is no evidence, and indeed it is unlikely that in 1397, when the whole area was under Turkish attack, Theodore excluded Vasilicata from the deal with the Hospitallers.

111. One of these cities was Kalavryta. The exact date of the transfer is not known. The earliest indication that the city was in the hands of the Hospitallers is on 23 May 1402 when Philibert de Naillac confirmed a land grant made by Elie de Fossat, captain of Corinth and *locum tenens* of the Morea, to Manoli Enclava inhabitant of Kalavryta (AOM MS 332, f.160^{v}. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat* I, p. 159 misquoting Delaville Le Roulx, p. 280, says that the document bearing date 1400 stated the transfer of Kalavryta to the Hospitallers. However given the circumstantial evidence we possess the take over must have occurred soon after February 1400.

συμπτωμάτων, ὧν μία τις ἦν πρόφασις, ἡ τῶν ἀσεβεστάτων ἐπίθεσις κατὰ συνέχειαν ἐς μακρὸν ἐπιτεταμένη. Ἠπίστατο δ᾽ αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνους μηδεμίαν ἑτέραν δύναμιν ὡς τὴν τῶν Φρερίων ὑποπτεύοντας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠγνόουν τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥς εἰσιν οὗτοι κλάδοι ῥίζης εὐγενοῦς καὶ μεγίστης καὶ κατεχούσης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα τὰ δυτικὰ μέρη. Εἰκότως ἄρ᾽ ἐδόξαζεν εὔλογον εἶναι νομίζειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς οἴσειν γε τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην καρπὸν ἐκείνοις μὲν ὀλέθριον, εὐσεβέσι δὲ ὠφέλιμον. Ταῦτ᾽ εἰδὼς ὁ θαυμάσιος ᾠήθη δεῖν τινα φήμην οὐκ ἀγαθὴν πρός τινα καιρὸν δέξασθαι, ὅπως μετέπειτ᾽ εὔκλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσῶσθαι τὸ κινδυνεῦον. Καλεῖ δὴ τοὺς Ῥοδίους παρ᾽ αὐτόν, λέγει τὸ τούτοις ἐφετόν, προοιμιασάμενός τε καὶ καταλύσας τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. Αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἀκούουσιν ἄσμενοι καὶ τρέχουσιν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς συμβάσεις, τελειοῦσιν, ἐπανέρχονται πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὥσπερ πετόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν μείζοσιν. Οἱ δ᾽ ἀφικνοῦνται διὰ τάχους ἐς Πελοπόννησον, μακρῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάντες. Καὶ ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παρῶ, λαμβάνουσί τινας πόλεις ὀμωμοκότες τὰ δέοντα καὶ καταθέμενοί τινα χρήματα,

8. ᾠήθη δεῖν PVVa: ᾠήθην δὴ W | 13. συμβάσεις PVVa: (ex συμβιβάσεις) W | 15. ἐς P: WVa: εἰς V | 16. mg. C^{η} <μείωσαι> Va.

Cf. «Pour l'histoire», p. 260; Schreiner, CBB II, p. 367). Besides Kalavryta the other area ceded to the Order was Vatika (see above p. 182 n. 110). The scribe of E (see above p. 53) in a marginal note mentions Phanari (Argolis) to have been one of the stronghold also ceded to the Order. If so, this would vindicate Kougeas's belief that the Phanari granted to Gemisthos Plethon and his heirs by Theodore II in 1427 was the one situated in the Argolis (MM III, pp. 173-76; PP III, pp. 331-33; S.B. Kougeas, *Ἑλληνικά,* 1 (1928), 394-98). What is not certain however, is the year in which Phanari came under Byzantine jurisdiction. Damala (anc. Troezene which lies to the south-east of Phanari formed part of the region of Corinth before and after the Frankish conquest. From its French conquerors, by way of dowry, Damala passed to the Zaccaria family of whom Centurione I (1336-1382) was the last to style himself as lord of Damala (Bon, *La Morée franque,* p. 487-8). It is very possible the area, including Phanari, came into the hands of Neri Acciaiuoli sometime after 1382 and occupied by Theodore I during his attack on Corinth after Neri's death in 1394. Alternatively, Phanari may have been captured by the Despot during his Argos/Nauplia campaign as early as 1389/90. After all, Thermisi and Kastri which lie to the south of Phanari fell to him at the time (Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα,* p. 378; Sathas, VI, p. 126). But unlike Argos, Thermisi and Kastri which were returned to the Republic in 1394, Phanari, not being part of the d'Enghien possessions Venice had secured, remained under Byzantine jurisdiction. It was finally offered to the Republic together with Damala and Ligourio in 1456 (Sathas I, p. 230).

sworn the necessary oaths and had deposited a sum of money[112]. This was thought most essential so that while they were in control of these places there should be a certain check over them so that in the event that we were defrauded of our possessions they should not get away scot-free. The author of the plot seemed to think that the matter would rest there.

But the rumour spread everywhere and there was an uproar and all kinds of arguments from those who were ignorant of the plot, as the truth had purposely been concealed from them. I suppose that one should not censure those who see only the outward appearance and not the hidden truth and for this reason take offensive action. For it was indeed due to their aversion towards foreigners and their affection for their saviour and Despot that some seemed guilty of disobedience and attempting political upheaval. For no one would be so puerile and stupid to assume that they were not supporting him, since they were indeed acting rightly and using every means to avoid his place being taken by others. My brother was aware of this and so he was not incensed against anyone since he was a merciful and humane man who readily forgave those who asked pardon for any mistakes they may have made. Those who knew nothing of the plot however thought differently and many suspected that the action taken would very soon result in their own destruction. He, on the other hand, felt confident and had every expectation that all dangers would rapidly be overcome. He hoped that as soon as the Sultan had heard that the Latins were attempting to gain the mastery of the Peloponnese he would be filled with great fear and would approach us for a reconciliation, not in sincerity — for what had he in common with sincerity? — but on the pretext that it would be better that the Peloponnese should be controlled by us than be caught in Latin coils. The real reason was not that this man had readily changed and would therefore have wished to make peace with us for the sake of living in tranquility — for, I repeat, he had nothing in common with the good — it was rather that he feared that the Hospitallers, who were stronger than we were, might harm the adjacent cities to the Peloponnese[112A]. For they are like

112. That the Order deposited sums of money and jewels prior to taking over the Despotate is attested by the documents of 21 February and 7 November 1400 (AOM MS 330, ff.122^{v}-123, 125^{v}-126. Delaville Le Roulx, p. 279 wrongly attributes

ἀναγκαιότατον δόξαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς κατέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέχεσθαί πως, καὶ ἢ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι τῇ κατοχῇ ἢ μηδαμῶς πλεονεκτεῖν. Ἔπειθ' ἵσταται τὸ γεγονὸς ἄχρι τοῦδε. Ὧδε γὰρ ἐδόκει δεῖν τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ δράματος.

Τῆς φήμης δὲ διαχεθείσης ἑκασταχόσε, θροῦς καὶ λόγοι διάφοροι τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ δράματος, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίτηδες κρυπτομένης. Ὅθεν εἰς μὲν τὸ φαινόμενον ἀφορῶντες, τὸ δὲ κεκρυμμένον οὐ βλέποντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσκόπτοντες οἱ πολλοί, οὐκ ἄν που δέξαιντο μέμψιν δικαίαν. Εἰ δὲ καί τινες ἐδόκουν ἀπειθεῖν
f.28v καὶ νεωτερίζειν, τό γε κινῆσαν οὐχ ἕτερον ἢ ἀποστροφὴ | μὲν πάντως πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἀγάπη δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν σωτῆρά τε καὶ δεσπότην. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον αὐτόν (τίς οὕτω παῖς καὶ ἐμβρόντητος;), τὸ δ' ἀντὶ τούτου σχήσειν ἑτέρους ἅπασι διέφευγον τρόποις, εὖ γε ποιοῦντες. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ἀδελφὸς οὐδενί τε ὠργίζετο (πρᾶος γὰρ ἦν) καὶ τοῖς ἑπταικόσι μὲν καθ' οἱονδήτινα τρόπον, αἰτήσασι δ' οὖν συγγνώμην εὐθὺς ἐδίδου, φιλάνθρωπος ὤν. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἐδόξαζε τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων τὸ δρᾶμα, καὶ ᾤοντό γε πολλοὶ ἀπώλειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ πραττόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθάρρει καὶ πάνυ ἤλπιζεν, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶν δεινὸν εἰς τοὐναντίον τραπήσεται· τὸν γὰρ σατράπην εὐθὺς μαθόντα κινδυνεύειν τοὺς Λατίνους τῆς Πελοποννήσου δεσπόζειν, πολλῷ τῷ δέει κατασχεθέντα, πρὸς διαλλαγὰς εὐθὺς ἥξειν οὐ κατ' ἀλήθειαν μέν (τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κοινόν;), ἀλλὰ τῷ πολύ τι βέλτιον ἄγειν τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος ὑφ' ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἢ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων ἕλικα ταύτης δράξασθαι. Αἴτιον δὲ οὐ τὸ ῥᾳδίως μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι σπείσασθαι, ἠγαπηκότα τὸ ἠρεμεῖν (ἐρῶ γὰρ αὖθις ὡς οὐδὲν κοινὸν πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν), φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ μὴ τὰς γείτονας πόλεις τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ δέξασθαί τινα βλάβην ἐκ τῶν Φρερίων ἰσχυροτέρων ἡμῶν ὄντων. Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ῥύακες ἀεννάων ποταμῶν καὶ μεγίστων· λέγω δὲ τὰ δυτικὰ πάντα ἔθνη ἐξ ὧν οἵδε ὥρμηνται.

28-29. Aeschylus, *Supplices* 553; Plato, *Phaedo* 111d.

---

10. κινῆσαν PVVa: νικῆσαν W | 14. ταῦτ' PVW: ταῦτα Va | 24. τὸ PVW: τῷ Va.

---

the second document to the transactions over Corinth). The exact sum is not known, for this see below p. 210 n.131.

112A. Most probably he is referring to towns in Thessaly occupied by the Turks; see *B*, 53(1983), 108-13.

streams of mighty and ever-flowing rivers — I refer to the western nations where the Hospitallers' operations have their base.

Full knowledge of all this gave my brother hope that his scheme would have a happy ending. For clearly that snake could not fail to notice what was then taking place, and indeed being aware of what was happening he could not remain inactive nor could he allow these arrangements to be carried out. This was what my brother was hoping for and his expectations were fulfilled. The Sultan had previously refused to accept our letters or words or any other communication pleading for peace, but when he heard about the treaty he changed his attitude in order to counterbalance this and he sent an embassy from Asia Minor to my brother in Sparta bearing proposals for a reconciliation and a lengthy request expressing the wish that what had been done in the past should now be put right[113]. This was done. When all this was achieved your Despot emerged more illustrious than ever because of his foresight and his handling of the situation. The whole drama and the wisdom of the author were praised, as also the fact that neither in manner nor speech did he hint at any trace of bitterness towards those who for some reason or other had offended him. And it was a pleasure to see the rejoicing Despot among his rejoicing subjects. For sometime past he had been greatly loved and admired but at that moment he was even more loved and admired. And the miracle was praised and everyone expressed their affection for him. Naturally so. For those who had had no hope even for their lives were at once shown to have come into good fortune. This indeed makes the sweet things in life appear sweeter by far. It is of course obvious that all should see this course of action involving your safety as a complete and pleasurable miracle, especially as it had seemed as though it might make matters worse, though it did in fact turn out to the contrary. You had a deep longing for peace even though there seemed very little likelihood of it. You obtained a full peace, far better than that previously enjoyed and bringing with it considerable prestige since an embassy was actually sent to you by the man who had previously refused to meet any of you on the missions sent to him to discuss peace terms[114]. You know how he used to insult and ill-treat

---

113. See below p. 206 n. 127. For rhetorical effect Manuel does not follow a strict chronological order.

114. See above 161,*30*-163,*1* and n.85.

Ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδότι τἀδελφῷ θαρρεῖν ἐπῄει τελευτήσειν εἰς ἀγαθὸν τὸ δρᾶμα. Μήτε γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι λαθεῖν τὸν ὄφιν ἐκεῖνον τὰ τηνικαῦτα πραττόμενα, μήτε μὴν γνόντα μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἀτρέμας καὶ καταδέχεσθαι ταῦτα πέρας λαβεῖν. Οὕτως ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐλπίζων καὶ οὕτως ἐξέβη. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καταμαθών, ὅς οὐδὲ γράμματα
f.29 ἐδέχετο παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐ λόγον, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τὸ πρὸς εἰρήνην | παρακαλοῦν, ἐξ ἀντιρρόπου μεταβαλών, πέμπει τῷ ἐμῷ πρεσβείαν ἀδελφῷ ἐξ 'Ασίας ἐς αὐτὴν Σπάρτην, διαλλαγὰς κομίζουσαν καὶ μακρὰν ἀξίωσιν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμβάντος διόρθωσιν. Ὃ καὶ γίνεται· καὶ γεγονότος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης ἐφάνη. Τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα ὕμνητο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ ποιήσαντος καὶ τὸ μήτε σχῆμα τοῦτον δεικνύναι μήτε τι ῥῆμα προέσθαι ἴχνος ὑπεμφαῖνον πικρίας, εἴ τινες δι' ἡντινοῦν αἰτίαν προσκεκρούκασι. Καὶ ἦν χαίρων ἐν χαίρουσι, δεσπότης ὑπηκόοις, ἥδιστον ἰδεῖν. Πολὺ γὰρ καὶ φιλούμενος καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἄνωθεν τηνικαῦτα μεθ' ὑπερβαλλούσης προσθήκης καὶ ἐφιλεῖτο καὶ ἐθαυμάζετο, καὶ τὸ θαῦμα ᾖδετο καὶ τὸ φίλτρον τούτῳ πάντες ἀπεδίδοσαν. Εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ οἳ πρὶν οὐκ εἶχον θαρρεῖν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ ζῆν εὐδαίμονες εὐθὺς ἀνεδείκνυντο· τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τὰ ἡδέα ποιοῦν ἡδίω πολλῷ φαίνεσθαι. Πῶς οὖν οὐ πᾶσι κριθήσεται τὸ περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἔργον ἐκεῖνο θαύματος γέμον καὶ ἡδονῆς, εἰ ταῦθ' ἅπερ ἐνομίζετε χείρω καταστήσειν ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ἐκεῖνα πολλῷ βελτίῳ; Εἰρήνης γὰρ ἐπεθυμεῖτε μὲν ὡς μάλιστα, ἠλπίζετε δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα, αὐτῆς δὲ πάνυ βαθείας τετυχήκατε πολλῷ γε βέλτιον ἢ προτοῦ, προσούσης γε καὶ δόξης οὐ σμικρᾶς ἐκ τοῦ πρεσβείαν πέμπειν ὡς ὑμᾶς τὸν μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἀνεχόμενον, εἴ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευεν. Ἴστε οὓς τῶν ὑμετέρων

25. πολλῷ γε PVVa: γε om. W.

those of you he sent away, for he was an insolent man. With God's help the affair had a happy ending and all our prayers were fulfilled. The man who brought his actions to a successful conclusion should indeed be both regarded as a saviour and called one by those whom he has saved, and, after God of course, should be given all honour, and he should receive the highest rewards which men can devise.

Are there any among you who object to the stage and the mask? Indeed, not if he is in his right mind, nor if he knows how to judge rightly, not simply regarding the action but perceiving the doer's purpose. In short, not if he generally looks for the intentions which might bring about a successful ending or otherwise. Nor should people immediately censure what escapes their understanding, for when it is necessary to do so it is possible to conceal things even from those one deeply loves. What I do not consider to be admirable is when actions though they may be called good have a motive behind them which, as the saying goes, is not to be commended[115]. So if one could perceive men's real thoughts one would find that a good action is that which is achieved as a result of good intention. In speaking thus I have in mind friends. As for enemies, need I say that it is a convention of warfare that a man putting his enemy to flight by deceit should be praised more than if he were to defeat him in open battle? For in the first case the general wins a victory without any losses, while in the second case he is compelled to sacrifice many of his men[116]. Both history and poetry support this argument and the Holy Scriptures and the writings of orators and philosophers are full of such examples. So that human experience advises us that it is permissible to behave in a similar way even to our friends. Thus physicians and all other men whose function is to succour, often accomplish much by using all the means at their disposal to do what is of use. If you were to look into this you would discover that many of the noblest men wore various masks so that they could free themselves from very great and manifest evils and perhaps achieve success without involving those whom they had deceived, doing so without any evil purpose since they were their friends. Moreover, one would see some men who are both good and wise admonishing

---

115. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1105^{a}17-1105^{b}18.

116. Cf. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* (ed. B. Leib, Paris 1945), Bk. 15, ch. 3, pp. 195-6; Cecaumenos (ed. B. Wassiliewsky, St. Petersburg 1896), pp. 9-10, 16; Isidore,

ἐξέπεμπε, κακῶς καὶ λέγων καὶ ποιῶν, ἀνὴρ ὑβριστὴς ὤν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔργον σὺν θεῷ πέρας εἰλήφει καλὸν καὶ ἅπερ εὐχόμεθα γέγονεν, ὁ δὲ καλῶς ἐργασάμενος σωτὴρ ἂν εἴη καὶ ὀνομάζοιτο τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεσωσμένοις καὶ τιμῷτο παρ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ θεῖον εἰκότως καὶ τὰς μείζους αἵτινές ποτ' ἂν εἶεν ἢ νομίζοιντο παρ' ἀνθρώποις δέξαιτο τιμάς.

f.29v Ἔχει τις | ἡμῖν προφέρειν τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον; Οὐ μήν γε ὅτῳ μέτεστι νοῦ, οὐδ' ὃς ἂν οἶδε κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, βλέπων οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἰς τὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ πράττοντος γνώμην, καὶ ὅλως γε δι' ὧν ἂν εἴη καλὸν φανῆναι τὸ τέλος καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον, εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ὅ γε λέληθέ τινας πραττόμενον, τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἔν τινι μέμψει, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ κρυβῆναι καλὸν κἀκ τῶν κομιδῇ φιλουμένων δέον ὂν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Ὡς γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶμαι καλὸν καὶ τῶν ὡς μάλιστα καλῶν μεμαρτυρημένων, ἐὰν μὴ καλῶς, ὅ φασι, γένηται, οὕτω καὶ πάντα καλά, ὧν ἄν τις μετὰ καλῆς διανοίας ἐφάψαιτο, εἴ τις ἐς τὴν τούτου γνώμην ὁρῴη. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω περὶ τῶν φίλων: περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν, οὓς ἣν ἀπατήσας τροπώσηταί τις νόμῳ πολέμου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖται ἢ φανερῶς κρατήσας αὐτῶν; Ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ ζημίας ἄνευ ἡ νίκη τῷ στρατηγῷ, οὕτω δὲ πολλοὺς ἀνάγκη τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλεῖν. Καί μοι πρὸς ταῦτα συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἱστορία καὶ ποίησις καὶ γέμει τῶν τοιούτων ἥ τε ἱερὰ γραφὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ φιλοσόφων συγγράμματα. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἔξεστι τοιοῦτόν τι πράττειν, ὁ βίος οὗτος ἅπας συνίστησιν. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ πάντες οἷς βοηθεῖν ἐστιν ἔργον πολλάκις διαπράττονται τὸ συνοῖσον ἐργαζόμενοι πάντα τρόπον· καὶ εὕροις ἂν ζητήσας προσωπεῖα περιθεμένους οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε μεγίστων καὶ προδήλων κακῶν ῥυσθῆναι καί που καὶ τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν χωρὶς τοῦ πειραθῆναι δεινῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς οὐ κακῶς ἐξηπατημένους, φίλους γε ὄντας. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλούς τινας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας ἴδοις ἂν

13-16. cf. Aristotelem, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1105^{a} 30-33.

---

7. ἔχει PWVa: ἔχοι V.

---

p. 193, *28*-194, *7*. Examples of similar attitude in Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas* 1-2; and others.

others to act on these principles when circumstances demand, while some are so full of admiration for those acting in this way as to set down their achievements in writing. Well, since this is the case and we have a number of people both from the more remote and from the recent past who in their various ways plead our case, it is obvious that our theatrical piece was perfectly conceived, perfectly executed and perfectly brought to a close. Therefore it could not be censured but on the contrary it should receive the highest praise. For it was of benefit to you, it punished your enemies and did no damage to your friends. On the contrary — and I hesitate to say this — they made a positive gain, for it was the Hospitallers who paid the expenses of the soldiers, the ships and everything they needed and again it was they who calculated how much they considered that these expenses should be, while we paid without any protest, not wishing to appear mean[117].

All these things therefore do not deserve any censure; on the contrary they redound to his honour since they were in the common interest. Yet his reasoning does not exactly look like a drama. For the man who conceived this bravest of actions was exceedingly hopeful that the undertaking would succeed, as in fact it did, turning out to our advantage. Yet he was really fearful of the unknown future and of the enemy's terrible rage against us, and so he formed a second plan. This second alternative was lest the plan in hand should fail. In this case the Sultan's fierce wild spirit would not be appeased by flattery nor would be alarmed at the proximity of the Hospitallers and the expected arrival of the Latins. Therefore the next best course, as the saying is, was the following: To collect together the more experienced men and to disclose absolutely everything to them explaining his plan from the beginning, namely, that everything was designed to prevent his separation from his friends, giving proof of the operation and showing that there was in fact no hope of reconciliation with the Sultan. He would then try as far as he could to raise their spirits by every possible encouragement and would urge them not in any way to betray themselves to the infidels who are in fact totally opposed to us by custom, religious belief, law and in all other respects. When confronted

117. Expenses calculated by the Hospitallers for the upkeep of castles, fortresses, etc. that Theodore had to pay amounted to 3,500 ducats (1404.V.5, AOM MS 334 f.147-147^{v}).

ἑτέροις παραινοῦντας τοιαῦτα πράττειν, οὕτω δεῆσαν, καὶ αὖ ἑτέρους οὕτω θαυμάζοντας τοὺς ἐργασαμένους, ὡς καὶ συγγραφῇ παραδοῦναι τὰ πεπραγμένα. Ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλοὺς κεκτήμεθα f.30 τῶν τε νεωτέρων | καὶ τῶν παλαιοτέρων πολλοῖς τισι τρόποις συνηγοροῦντας τῷ πράγματι, δηλονότι τὸ ἡμέτερον τοῦτο δρᾶμα ἄριστα μὲν διανοηθέν, ἄριστα δὲ πραχθέν, ἄριστα δὲ ἐκβάν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἂν εἰκότως δέξαιτο μέμψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μείζους ἐπαίνους· ὠφέλησε μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ἔβλαψε δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, τοὺς δὲ φίλους οὐδὲν ἐζημίωσεν. Ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὡς καί τι προσεκέρδανον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες οἱ τὰς δαπάνας ποιησάμενοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, τῶν τριηρῶν, τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐβούλοντο πάντων, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν οἱ λογιζόμενοι ταύτας ὡς ἦν αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀπεδίδομεν μηδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι μικροψυχίαν ἐμφαίνοντα.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα ἥκιστα μέν τινα μέμψιν, δόξαν δὲ μεγίστην φέρει τῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον γεγενημένῳ. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ καθαρῶς τοῦτο δίδωσιν ἐοικέναι δράματι ὁ πᾶς ἐκείνου λογισμός. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ σφόδρα εὔελπις ὁ τὴν ἀρίστην τήνδε πρᾶξιν διανοηθεὶς ἐκβήσεσθαί οἱ τοὐγχείρημα, ὥσπερ ἐξέβη καὶ ὤνησέ γε. Δεδιὼς οὖν ὅμως τὸ μέλλον (ἀόρατον γάρ) καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ μανίαν (δεινὴ γὰρ ἦν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν) ἐνεθυμεῖτο καὶ δεύτερόν τι. Ἦν δὲ τουτὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἂν ἀποτύχῃ τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ μήτε ταῖς θωπείαις μαλάξῃ τὴν ἀνήμερον ἐκείνου ψυχὴν μήτε μορμολύξηται ταύτην τῷ τε τοὺς Φρερίους προσοίκους σχεῖν, τῇ τε διὰ τούτους προσδοκωμένῃ τῶν Λατίνων ἀφίξει, τότε λοιπὸν κατὰ δεύτερον, ὅ φασι, πλοῦν πρᾶξαι τοιάδε· πάντας οἷς νοῦ μετῆν συναθροῖσαι καὶ εἰλικρινῶς ἐξειπεῖν, περιελὼν ἅπαν κάλυμμα, τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ὡς ἄρα πάντα γίγνοιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῶν φιλουμένων, δεῖξαί τε τὴν διαμαρτίαν τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως καὶ ὡς οὐχ ὑπολέλειπταί τις ἐλπὶς διαλλαγῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἶτα διεγεῖραι τούτοις τὸ φρόνημα ἅπασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τρόποις ὅσον αὐτῷ δυνατόν, καὶ συμβουλεῦσαι μὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἐθελῆσαι προδοῦναι μηδένα τρόπον, οἳ δὴ f.30v καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τοῖς νό| μοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἡμῖν ἐναντιώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ

---

19. Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 29. 24. Plato, *Phaedo* 99c-d; Id. *Philebus* 19c etc.; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 24; D. Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas* (Oxford, 1951), p. 27.

---

23. προσοίκους PVW: προσήκους Va.

with such evil they should be willing to plan, do and suffer all things pledging themselves ready to die with those who refused to lay down their arms, defending themselves courageously so that they either suffered an honourable death or were victorious over the enemy. Should he succeed in persuading them and should they agree with his view he meant to proceed no further but would only see to it, as far as he could, that the Rhodians were sent away courteously. If, however, having done and said all this, he realised that he was struggling in vain, 'ploughing the sands and sowing stones', then he would forgive them if they took action for their safety. Then, since they were weighed down by this pressing danger and their strength exhausted, he would advise them to ask help from those who were able to defend them, namely, from the Hospitallers who were in the Peloponnese rather than from anybody else. For this would be by far the better course.

I was then right when I said that this action did not exactly resemble a drama. How could it be when he was clearly aware of the ambiguity of the situation knowing that his plan might succeed or fail. For peace depended on Bayezid's intentions and these in the past had been proved most inhuman, so it was likely that the impious man would hold fast to his previous quarrel and turn his back on reasonable conduct. If Bayezid insisted on giving rein to his intentions and his natural propensities it was likely that the high hope with which the Hospitallers advanced from their island would be fulfilled. The resources of the Peloponnese were inadequate to supply its needs, as has I think been clearly shown, it was in its interest to prefer the presence of the Hospitallers as a lesser evil.

Indeed no one would justly censure the Despot for staging this drama nor for the cause in which it was enacted, nor indeed for his project should his hopes be dashed. To sum up what I have already said in a word, as it were, I should have been glad to have heard from any one of temperate mind who was aware of the situation at the time as to what other course he should have taken or what other advice he should have given to his people, after he had done everything he could but failed to achieve anything. For the enemy possessed a great force, coupled with a hostile disposition and a crafty mind, while all the Albanians, Bulgars and Serbs were already conquered[118] and a great

118. The subjugation of Bulgaria was completed in 1388 and of Serbia in 1389.

κακοῦ ἅπαντα καὶ διανοηθῆναι καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ παθεῖν ἐθελῆσαι, ὑποσχέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς συναποθανεῖσθαι μὴ καταθεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλ᾿ ἀμυνομένοις ἀνδρείως, ὥστε ἢ μετὰ δόξης πεσεῖν ἢ τρόπαιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στῆσαι. Κἂν οὕτω γένηται πιθανός, ὡς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογῆσαι τῇ τούτου γνώμῃ, μὴ περαιτέρῳ προβῆναι, ἀλλ᾿ εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἰδεῖν, ὅπως ἀποπέμψῃ ῾Ροδίους ἡδέως ὅσον οἷόν τε. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν τὰ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥκοντα, γνοίη τηνάλλως ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰς πῦρ τε ξαίνων καὶ πέτρας σπείρων, τότε δὴ δοῦναι συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς, εἰ πράξαιέν τι πρὸς σωτηρίαν, μὴ δυναμένοις ἀντέχειν ἔτι καὶ παραινέσαι, ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύντονον κακὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀσθενὲς συνωθεῖ, τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν ζητῆσαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε παραγεγονότας Φρερίους τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἁπάντων· εἴη γὰρ ἂν ταύτῃ βέλτιον πάντων ἕνεκα.

Καλῶς ἄρα εἶπον, ὡς οὐδὲ δράματι καθαρῶς ἔοικε τουτὶ τοὔργον. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ἀκριβῶς σοφιζομένου τὸ ἀμφιρρεπὲς πάντως ὂν ὥστε γενέσθαι καὶ μή· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ Παγιαζίτου γνώμης ἐξήρτητο, ἀπανθρωποτάτης δειχθείσης τοῖς πρόσθεν ἅπασι χρόνοις, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἦν μεῖναι τὸν ἄθεον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ φιλονεικίᾳ, ἐρρῶσθαι τῷ προσήκοντι φράσαντα· καὶ μείναντος ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ τε καὶ τῇ φύσει, εἰκὸς ἦν αὖθις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς Φρερίοις τέλος λαβεῖν μεθ᾿ ὧν οἴκοθεν κεκίνηνται· ἐπεὶ τὸ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ συνοῖσον (μὴ δυναμένῃ καθ᾿ αὑτὴν διασώζεσθαι, τοῦτο οἶμαι εἶναι δεδεῖχθαι), πάντων τοὺς Φρερίους προτιμῆσαι· f.31 συνοῖσον δὲ λέγω νῦν τὸ ἐν τοῖς βλάπτουσιν | ἧττον.

Οὔτε τοίνυν τοῦ δράματος ἕνεκα οὔτε τῆς αἰτίας δι᾿ ἣν τὸ δρᾶμα, μέμψαιτ᾿ ἄν τις αὐτὸν δικαίως, οὔκουν οὐδ᾿ ὅπερ ἐβούλετο, ἣν ἀποτύχῃ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος. ῾Ωσπερεὶ γὰρ ἤδη κεφαλαιούμενος, συνελὼν τὰ περὶ τῶνδε προειρημένα, πυθοίμην ἂν ἡδέως παντὸς εἰδότος τὰ τότε πράγματα καὶ νοῦ μετρίου μετέχοντος τί ποτε τοῦτον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν ἢ τί καὶ συμβουλεύειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν ἐργάσασθαι τὰ δέοντα καλῶς, ἀνῦσαι δὲ μηδὲν δυνηθῆναι, πολλῆς μὲν οὔσης δυνάμεως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, πολλῆς δὲ ἅμα κακοηθείας καὶ γοητείας, καὶ πάντων μὲν ᾿Ιλλυριῶν καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἤδη

---

8. Plato, *Leges*, 780c; 838e; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 130; II, 48, 202, 611.

---

12. τῷδε (ex τόδε) P: VW: τόδε Va | 23. πάντων PWVa: πάντως V | 26 αὐτὸν δικαίως PVVa: (ex δικαίως αὐτὸν per s.s. α΄β΄γ΄) W | 33. Τριβαλλῶν: Τριβαλῶν codd.

army had been routed at Nicopolis[119]. I refer to the army assembled by the Hungarians, Germans and western Franks whose names alone were sufficient to make the barbarians shudder. However our allies failed, some of them were even defeated by a most evil fate both by land and sea. It seemed to me then that events had reached the highest point of disaster with these long-lasting and coinciding evils. Some perhaps would say that he ought to have consulted his own people and by every means persuaded them eagerly to desire death in defence of orthodoxy and honour being above all himself ready to do so. Excellent. But what else was he doing during all that time before the moment came when it was possible for him to give advice and do what was thought to be the best? Well, they say that he ought to have used flattery and ought to have promised great things in accordance with the excellent principle of compromise. How else could he have counselled? Your point granted, they say, but on the other hand he ought to have exercised more pressure on them and perhaps have threatened while he rebuked them, upbraided them, shouted at them, and acted in a similarly exaggerated manner. He knew how to inflict a moderate injury, but not indeed how to give real help and so on this occasion he failed to apply the harsher remedy to the inflamed and festering wounds which in the past he had profitably used with admirable skill. But, my friend, in the name of God what did he omit which needed to be done? Do you consider that the best thing to do is to allow them to be placed under the infidel's yoke? On the contrary, he believed this to be the worst course of all, entirely out of keeping with his sense of virtue and his office. On the other hand was it not a better solution to accept the rule of Christians whose customs were more in accord with ours and who had sufficient resources to help us? Well said. Since dangers had increased and there was no possibility of persuading or compelling his people to imitate their ancestors (such possibilities had entirely vanished) there were two options left open — either to accept the rule of the Turks or that of the Christians. Indeed in every respect the rule of the Hospitallers was considered to be the better, in accordance with that well known proverb that it is better to chose the lesser of two evils. Therefore the less

119. 25 September 1396, see A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London 1934.

κεκρατημένων, στρατιᾶς δὲ τῆς πολλῆς ἐν Νικοπόλει καταβληθείσης (τὴν ἐκ Παιόνων λέγω καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἑσπερίων συνειλεγμένην, ὧν δὴ πάντων ἔφριττον καὶ μόνα τὰ ὀνόματα τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἅπαν), καὶ τῶν μὲν συμμαχούντων ἀτυχησάντων ἢ καὶ ἡττηθέντων ἐνίων κακίστῃ μοίρᾳ καὶ ἐν ἠπείρῳ καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐληλυθέναι δοκούντων ἐπ' ἔσχατον τῶν δεινῶν τῇ τηλικαύτῃ συνδρομῇ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ ταῦτα χρόνον οὕτω συχνόν· συμβουλεύειν ἔδει τοῖς αὐτοῦ, φαῖεν ἂν τινες ἴσως, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐνάγειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, δέξασθαι θελῆσαι προθύμως τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας καὶ δόξης θάνατον, αὐτόν γε πρῶτον πρόθυμον ὄντα πρὸς τοῦτο. Ὑπέρευγε. Καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ποιῶν ἕτερον τὸν προτοῦ πάντα χρόνον, ἕως ἐξὸν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ συμβουλεύειν καὶ πράττειν τά γε δοκοῦντα κράτιστα εἶναι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ θωπείαις χρῆσθαι, φησίν, ἐχρῆν καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι μεγάλα μετ' οἰκονομίας ἀρίστης. Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἦν αὐτὸν ἑτέρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς συμβουλαῖς; Ἔστω, φησίν· ἔδει δὲ αὖ κἀκεῖνο φορτικώτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεσθαι καί που καὶ προσαπειλεῖν ἐπιτιμῶντα, ὀνειδίζοντα καὶ βοῶντα καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντα
f.31v μετὰ πολλῆς | τῆς ὑπερβολῆς. Ἀλλ' ᾔδει βλάψων ἐπιεικῶς, ὀνήσων δὲ οὐδαμῶς· ὅθεν τὸ τραχύτερον φάρμακον τραύμασιν ὀργῶσι καὶ φλεγμαίνουσιν οὐκ ἐπέθηκε τηνικαῦτα, προτοῦ πολλάκις ἐπιθεὶς συμφερόντως μετὰ θαυμαστῆς ἐπιστήμης. Τί οὖν, ὦ τᾶν, ἕτερον πρὸς θεοῦ παρῆκεν ἐκεῖνος τῶν γε δεόντων πεπρᾶχθαι; Ὑπενδοῦναι τούτοις σοι δοκεῖ βέλτιστον εἶναι τῷ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὑποταγῆναι ζυγῷ; Ἀλλὰ κάκιστόν τε πάντων τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζε καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ σχήματος τελέως ἀπᾷδον. Ἀλλὰ χριστιανικὴν ἀρχὴν δέξασθαι, ἣ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν αὐτῶν ἄμεινον συμβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐξαρκέσειν; Ἀριστά γε. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ μὲν δεινὰ ὑπερέσχε, δυνατὸν δ' οὐκ ἦν ἢ πείθειν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνον ἢ βιάσασθαι τοὺς πάλαι προγόνους μιμήσασθαι (ἐκεῖνα γὰρ οἴχεται πανταχόθεν) δυοῖν γε θάτερον ὑπολέλειπται, ἢ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχὴν ἢ τὴν εἰρημένην λοιπὸν δέξασθαι. Ἐδόκει τοίνυν εἶναι βελτίων ἡ τῶν Φρερίων ἅπασι τρόποις. Κακῶν γὰρ δὴ προκειμένων τὸ μὴ χεῖρον

3-4. paraphrasis loci apud Herodotum 6.112: τέως ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. cf. Cydones 9,*28*. 32. cf. Sophoclem, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 640; *Oedipus Coloneus* 496; Lysiam, *Or. Fun.* 33.

---

6. τῇ PVVa: om. W.

oppressive solution was adopted with much gratitude and a profound goodwill. If his people wished to accept the rule of the Hospitallers he desired to yield to them without anger, but he wept at the parting with his beloved subjects and at his inability to save them even though he had braved dangers for their sake. The same thing happens with parents when they send their dearest ones abroad only because they cannot save them unless they part with them. In the event that his people chose the better solution, namely, to go forward in good hope and to fight the barbarians and either vanguish them with the help of God as their ally, or endure every difficulty in the struggle for freedom and glory he would praise them for their judgment and spur them on as much as he could and promise willingly to die with them while leading them into battle.

Such were his thoughts about himself, about his own men, his friends and everybody. What just grounds for complaint, then, did he give his accusers? Would it be easy for any of his slanderers to draw on their usual repertoire? Surely such excessive effrontery, such insolence and impudence would quickly be confounded by the full glory of his achievements? Would this not silence any impertinent, rash man? Would it not sew up any mouth whose only use was continually to speak with enthusiasm foolishly and shamelessly railing against everybody. Or rather would it not transfix into silence any such blasphemous mouth and tongue? Were not his achievements full of common-sense, probity and knowledge of statecraft? He held out until he could bring the ship under the helmsman's control and though he experienced stormy weather he did not abandon the helm but did everything in the proper way as a good captain should. He spoke to his men, advised them, exhorted them, encouraged the dispirited, roused them from sleep, directed those who were eager to do their task, enjoined all to be active while he himself did everything needful to keep afloat a ship tossed about by strong winds and rolling swell. Mark you, he did this against all expectation and for a long time he did ward off the dangers. Then the gales raged and the sea grew more fiercely rough

βέλτιον κατὰ τὸν θρυλούμενον λόγον. Ὥστε τὸ κουφότερον ᾕρηται, καὶ τοῦτό γε μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου γέμοντος ἀγαθότητος. Βουλομένοις μὲν γὰρ δέξασθαι τὴν εἰρημένην ἀρχὴν συγχωρεῖν ἐβούλετο, μήτε ὀργιζόμενος, καὶ δάκρυον ἐκπέμπων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῇ τε διαστάσει τῶν φιλουμένων καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν προκινδυνεύοντα τούτους σῶσαι. Τοῦτο καὶ γονεῦσι συμβαίνει εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν τὰ φίλτατα πέμπουσιν, ἐπειδὰν οὐκ ἐξῇ σῴζεσθαι μὴ διακριθέντας ἀλλήλων. Προαιρουμένους δὲ τὰ βελτίω, δηλαδὴ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἢ νικᾶν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ ἢ πάντα φέρειν τὰ δυσχερῆ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποδυσαμένους καὶ δόξης, ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς γνώμης
f.32 καὶ παροξύνειν, ὁπόσα δύ| ναιτο, καὶ συναποθνήσκειν αὐτοῖς ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ πράττειν τοῦτο μάλα προθύμως, ἡγούμενος αὐτοῖς ἑπομένοις.

Οὕτως οὖν ἔχων λογισμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ περὶ πάντων, τίνα δικαίαν ἀφορμὴν παρέσχετ' ἂν κατηγόροις; Τίς ἂν τῶν διαβαλλόντων εὐκόλως χρήσαιτο τοῖς εἰωθόσι; Πόσης ἰταμότητος ὑπερβολήν, τίνα θρασὺν καὶ ἀναίσχυντον οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἀπέτρεψεν ἂν τὸ μετὰ περιουσίας λαμπρὸν τῶν ἔργων; Ποίους αὐθάδεις, τίνας προπετεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀφώνους εἰργάσατο; Ποῖον οὐκ ἂν ἀπέρραψε στόμα, μηδέν τι προὔργου ποιούμενον ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ κατὰ πάντων ἑξῆς ληρεῖν, ἐρρῶσθαι πάσῃ φράσαν αἰδοῖ; Μᾶλλον δὲ ποῖον μὲν στόμα, ποίαν δὲ γλῶτταν βλάσφημον οὐκ ἂν πρὸς εὐφημίαν μετέβαλεν; Οὐ γὰρ φρονήσεως, οὐ χρηστότητος, οὐκ ἐπιστήμης πολιτικῆς ἅπανθ' ὅσα πέπρακται τῷδε τἀνδρί; Ἀντεῖχε μὲν ἕως ἐξῆν τοῖς οἴαξιν εἴκειν τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ χειμῶνι χρώμενος τούτων οὐκ ἀφίστατο, καὶ τἄλλ' ἑξῆς πάντα ποιῶν τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ναυκλήρων, λέγων, συμβουλεύων, παραινῶν, ἀναθαρρύνων τοὺς καταπίπτοντας, διυπνίζων τοὺς καθεύδοντας, διακελευόμενος τοῖς σπουδάζουσιν, ἐπιτάττων ἐνεργοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος διαπραττόμενος δι' ὧν ἂν ἦν μὴ καταβαπτισθῆναι τὸ σκάφος δυσηνεμίᾳ καὶ σάλῳ χρώμενον. Ταῦτά τοι διὰ παντὸς ἐργαζόμενος ὑπὲρ τὰς ἁπάντων δόξας ἐπὶ μακρόν τινα χρόνον ἀπέτρεπε τὰ δεινά·

---

9. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 97(258).

---

1. θρυλούμενον: θρυλλούμενον codd. | 22. πάσῃ PWVa: om. V.

and some of the ship's gear either suffered or was shattered to pieces. At this point the ship, so to speak, refused to obey the rudder and let forth a cry that she would immediately sink unless her fortune changed. But he, though the sea grew wilder and more menacing, stood fast by his decision to take precautions and, opposing all difficulties with his manifold virtue, he went on struggling to save the ship and bring it into the harbour of peace – although he felt there was little hope that he would succeed. Nor was he ignorant of the enemy's nature, intention, savageness and whatever else spurred him on to make war.

Such was the enemy and such were his schemes, for he was an evil man doing and planning evil. My brother knew well that the Sultan would pursue his innate ferocity, unless an external force suddenly appeared and he despaired of being able to attack him effectively, but all the same Theodore did not give up asking for a truce. For he believed that he could not properly omit anything which lay within his power or neglect any course whatsoever which might lead to peace. Indeed because of this conviction he sent numerous embassies and adopted all means of bringing about reconciliation. On the other hand the Sultan gave rein to his natural inclinations unrestrainedly and nobody was left any hope that the monster might ever change his mind for the better. But the Despot, full of practical wisdom in matters of state, discovered the means by which he could compel him to desire peace. What were these means by which he brought pressure to bear on him? The agreement with the Hospitallers and their arrival here persuaded the barbarian to abandon his pride and give up his previous schemes and seek to make a truce with you saying that he at any rate desired this reconciliation for a long time. It was, as the saying goes, 'the stream flowing backwards to its source'[120]. The primary cause of this change was the arrival of the Hospitallers. The second cause, indeed the result of utter desperation, was the fact that they were ready to come to your aid and help should the peace scheme not succeed according to the Despot's plan.

It seems to me that I have been incorrect in describing them as helpers and saviours. Even if the people of the Peloponnese preferred the Hospitallers to the infidels, choosing the rule of the Latins rather

120. Euripides, *Medea* 410; Demosthenes 19.287; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 47.

εἶτα τῶν ἀνέμων ὥσπερ λυσσώντων καὶ μαινομένης ἀγριώτερον τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν μὲν σκευῶν αὐτῷ πονησάντων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ συντριβέντων ἤδη, τῆς τε νεώς, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀφηνιαζούσης καὶ μονονοὺ φωνὴν ἀφιείσης ὡς αὐτίκα καταδύσεται, μὴ μεταβαλούσης αὐτῇ τῆς τύχης, ὁ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγριαινούσης ἐκείνης καὶ ἀεὶ f.32v χαλεπωτέρας | ἑαυτῆς γινομένης ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ προνοεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῖς δυσχερείαις ἀντιτιθεὶς τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παντοδαπὴν ἀρετήν, ἐπειρᾶτο διασῴζειν ἔτι τὸ πλοῖον καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ λιμένα, τὴν εἰρήνην, τοῦτο κατάγειν, καίτοι ταύτης ἤλπιζε τεύξεσθαι μικροῦ δεῖν οὐδαμῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠγνόει τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ φύσιν καὶ γνώμην καὶ ἀγριότητα καὶ ὅσα ἕτερα αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὅπλων παρώτρυνεν.

῾Ο μὲν οὖν ἐχθρὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τοιαῦτα, κακὸς κακὰ καὶ πράττων καὶ βουλευόμενος. ῾Ο δέ γε καίτοι ταῦτα καλῶς γινώσκων καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐμφύτου θηριωδίας ἐκεῖνος ἀνθέξεται, ἢν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπογνῷ τοῦ πρᾶξαί τι κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ δυνηθῆναι, ἀνάγκης θύραθεν ἐπελθούσης, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπηλλάττετο ζητῶν τὰς μετ᾿ ἐκείνου σπονδάς. ῾Ηγεῖτο γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτῷ μηδ᾿ ὁτιοῦν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡκόντων παραλιπεῖν μηδὲ μηχανῆς ἡστινοσοῦν ἀμελῆσαι ὁπωσοῦν ἐς εἰρήνην φερούσης. ᾿Επεὶ τοίνυν οὕτως ἐδόκει, πρεσβεῖαι μὲν πάνυ πυκναὶ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς διαλλαγὰς ἐφέλκεσθαι πέφυκεν· ὁ δὲ σατράπης ἀκριβῶς ἐχρῆτο τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐλπὶς οὐδέσιν ὑπελείπετο πρὸς βέλτιόν τι μεταβαλεῖν τὴν τοῦ θηρὸς ἐκείνου γνώμην ποτέ. ῾Ο δὲ πλήρης φρονήσεως ὢν ἐξεῦρεν ὅπως εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐκεῖνον ἀγάγῃ τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῆσαι. Τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης; Αἱ μετὰ τῶν Φρερίων συμβάσεις καὶ ἡ ἐνθάδε τούτων ἐπιδημία, δι᾿ ἧς τὸν βάρβαρον ἔπεισε καταβαλεῖν τὴν ἐπηρμένην ὀφρὺν καὶ τῶν προτέρων λογισμῶν καθυφέντα, τὰς μεθ᾿ ὑμῶν ζητῆσαι σπονδὰς καὶ ταύτας γε πολλοῦ τινος ἐθέλειν τοῦτον ἀλλάξασθαι· ἄνω ποταμῶν φασί. Τοῦτ᾿ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον τοῦ τοὺς Φρερίους ἐνθάδε παραγενέσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ ἑτοίμους ἐκείνους ἔχειν εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑμετέραν καὶ βοήθειαν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἐκβαίη τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγχείρημα τῷ δεσπότῃ, δεύτερον ἦν f.33 ἀληθῶς καὶ παντελοῦς ἀπογνώ|σεως.

᾿Αλλὰ γὰρ ἔοικα οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρήσασθαι βοηθούς τε καὶ σωτῆρας ἐκείνους προσαγορεύσας. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ προκρῖναι τούτους τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δεσποτείας τὴν τῶν Λατίνων

---

26. v. supra 155,*19*. 28. Euripides, *Medea* 410; Demosthenes, *De falsa legatione* 287(433); *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* I, 47.

than the despotism of the Turks (and indeed I think it unfair to compare the two since they differ so greatly), yet they could hardly be called 'saviours and helpers' if they only delivered us from the enemy's yoke to place us against our will under their power. It was good of them, very good indeed, to hinder the portentous monster from swallowing the whole of the Peloponnese as was his intention. But in so far as in a different way their action caused grief among us it could hardly be said to have given undiluted pleasure, if that were possible, or real assistance. On the same principle I think that no drug could be considered altogether efficacious if it delivered the body from one ailment only to bring about a different malady instead, though less serious than the first, but nevertheless causing pain to the body. There is further proof. Had it been really a good thing — I mean that they should rule over you we should have taken this course long ago and we should have willingly surrendered to them the sceptre of our sovereignty at a time when no crisis whatsoever compelled us to do so. For we have always valued you of the Peloponnese and considered your welfare to be more important than ruling over you. But at this time this state of affairs was brought about by sheer necessity and once this was removed the function of the Hospitallers became automatically redundant. So you and your Despot chose the right course and circumstances combined to ensure that you did not succumb to either of the foreign yokes but remained in your good and customary ways thus with divine aid winning the most magnificent crown. Enough has been said about this.

There is however one thing that I ought to mention, namely, that the advice about the Hospitallers given in this case to the inhabitants of the Peloponnese was uniquely fitting and was conceived by him alone. For he had something deeper and more practical than actual experience could teach him. For his advice did not resemble that conceived by Agamemnon at Troy when he wished to strengthen the endurance and the bravery of his soldiers who had suffered from the length of the war and from scarcity of food. Then he instilled the people he commanded with such a longing for their homes, lands and other most valued things that his policy had the opposite effect. For everybody abandoned their honour and noble thoughts and rushed towards the ships. This made Agamemnon bitterly regret his plan. The Despot's plan was however quite unlike this and the difference between the two policies was neither small nor accidental. For in the first case it needed the sagacity of Odysseus and indeed his strong arm and the

ἀρχὴν προθεῖναι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παραβάλλειν οἶμαι καλόν, οὕτω πολὺ διειχέτην· οὐ μέντοι γε σωτῆρες καὶ βοηθοὶ κυρίως ἂν οἵδε καλοῖντο, εἰ τοῦ μὲν ζυγοῦ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπήλλαξαν ἄν, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν μὴ βουλομένους ὑμᾶς ὑπήγαγον. Καλὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ λίαν καλὸν τὸ τὸν ἀλλόκοτον θῆρα κωλῦσαι καταπιεῖν, ὡς ἐβούλετο, πᾶσαν ἑξῆς τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος, ἅτε δὲ δακρύων ἀφορμὰς κατ' ἄλλους παρεχόμενον τρόπους, οὔτ' εὐφροσύνης καθαρᾶς ἦν ἄν ποτ' εἴπερ ἐγένετο, οὔτε κυρίως βοήθεια, ἐπεὶ καὶ φάρμακον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτ' οἶμαι πάντη κριθείη, ἣν ἀπαλλάξῃ δεινοῦ του σῶμα, ἕτερον δέ τι πάθος ἀντεισαγάγῃ, κουφότερον μὲν τοῦ προτέρου, λυποῦν δ' οὖν ὅμως τὸ σῶμα. Δείκνυσι δὲ κἀκεῖνο· εἰ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα κυρίως ἦν ἀγαθόν — λέγω δὴ τὸ 'κείνους ὑμῶν ἄρχειν — τοῦτο γ' ἂν εἱλόμεθα πάλαι καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς θρόνου τούτοις ἑκόντες παρεχωρήσαμεν μηδεμιᾶς που περιστάσεως εἰς τοῦτο βιαζομένης. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν τῆς ὑμετέρας ὠφελείας ἄμεινον κεκρίκαμεν ἄν· οὕτω περὶ πλείστου τὸ ὑμέτερον ἄγομεν. Νυνὶ δ' ἀνάγκης σαφοῦς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἧς γε λυθείσης, ἐν ἀχρηστίᾳ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἦν εὐθύς· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ δέον προὐκέκριτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πάντα τούτῳ καλῶς συνέδραμε, καὶ οὐδετέρῳ τῶν ζυγῶν ὑπεκύψατε, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς τε καὶ εἰωθόσι διαμεμενήκατε πάντες μετὰ λαμπρῶν εἴπερ ποτὲ τῶν στεφάνων, συναιρομένης τῆς θείας ῥοπῆς. 'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτων ἅλις.

'Εκεῖνο μέν γε οὐ σιωπήσομαι, τὴν τῶν Φρερίων ἕνεκα πρὸς τοὺς
f.33v αὐτόχθονας τῆς Πελοποννήσου γεγενη| μένην συμβουλὴν τηνικαῦτα, μόνην εἰρῆσθαι πρέπουσαν μόνῳ τῷ ταύτην βουλευσαμένῳ. Εἶχε γὰρ βαθύτερόν τι καὶ τεχνικώτερον ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πείρας ἔστι μαθεῖν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ προσέοικε τῇ κατὰ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐξευρημένῃ τῷ 'Αγαμέμνονι, δι' ἧς ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐκεῖνος στηρίξαι πρὸς καρτερίαν καὶ γενναιότητα τὸ στρατόπεδον, μακρῷ πολέμῳ κακοπαθοῦντας καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνει, ἐνέβαλε δὲ τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῖς τῶν οἴκοι τε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν τιμιωτάτων οἷς ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὡς περιστῆναι τούτῳ τὸ βούλημα πρὸς τοὐναντίον σαφῶς, καὶ τρέχειν πάντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, ῥίψαντας φιλοτιμίαν καὶ φρόνημα, καὶ πολὺν παρεσχηκέναι μετάμελον τῷ τεχνησαμένῳ. 'Αλλ' ἀτεχνῶς ἀνόμοιος ἡ νεωτέρα τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ, καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν τὸ μέσον οὔτε σμικρὸν οὔτε περὶ τῶν τυχόντων πραγμάτων. 'Εκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἐδέησε τῆς 'Οδυσ-

---

21. v. supra 111,*18*. 27. ss. Homerus, *Ilias* 2. 110-269.

---

23. μὲν PVW: δὲ Va | 25. εἰρῆσθαι PVW: ἡγεῖσθαι Va.

threat of his staff to stop a number of them from dragging their ships to the sea and sailing off as fast as they could[121]. In the second case the advice was altogether wise and had a completely desirable outcome. The proof of this is that as a result of his counsel the Peloponnese was saved. For with great skill he dispelled the apathy which had attacked the spirits of some as a result of increasing external disasters. The very fact that he was negotiating terms which seemed almost to imply the subjugation of his own people to strangers, who were by far superior, spurred on his people to do the right thing and at once renewed their love towards him. This was natural. For among men it is a commonplace that when a noble spirit grows weary it inclines towards a less noble action and often advances towards this. But when it is about to do such a shameful deed it turns away and all the more eagerly and with greater emphasis and vigour it recovers its impulse towards the good. And when a noble spirit reverts to the good it seeks more eagerly to discover it and having discovered it, holds it fast. And so it happened on this occasion.

For as soon as they heard what in reality was never to occur but seemed as though it were about to happen, the torch of their love for him was kindled as though by a spark which had been dimmed by the thick smoke of their misfortunes. Their love of glory was roused and their zeal for the Despot which had grown faint and been weakened by time that dulls all things began to grow vigorous again[122]. Then it seemed likely that they would lose the Peloponnese if they seemed willing to welcome others in his place. They therefore began openly to make war against the Hospitallers and they passed a public resolution by a majority, strengthened by oaths either to expel the Hospitallers from their country or die and to receive back their loved Despot, though they had never rejected him[123] Do you see his practical wisdom, his experience, his skill in political matters? By appearing to give in and in this way by drawing their attention to impending destruction he saved those who were marching towards it by recalling them to their

121. Homer, *Iliad* 2, 110-269.

122. The castellans of Coron and Modon wrote on 1 April 1397 that the despot «*odiatur a suis baronibus*» «*ipse despotus hodiatur ab omnibus suis*» (Lettere di Rettori 65).

123. At least in Mistra, according to Chalcocandyles, the people were led by their bishop (B)97-98 = (D)91-92; cf. Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 260.

σέως συνέσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς χειρός (καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκῆπτρον τἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου κατ᾽ ἐνίων ἀνετείνετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ κωλῦσαι τὰς ναῦς καθελκῦσαι καὶ ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην), ἡ δ᾽ ἀγαθὴ κομιδῆ, καὶ κομιδῇ πρὸς ἀγαθὸν ἐτελεύτησε πέρας. Καὶ δηλοῖ τὸ δι᾽ αὐτῆς σεσῶσθαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον· σὺν ἀκριβεστάτῃ γὰρ ἐπιστήμῃ τὴν ἐνίων νωθείαν εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς κατασκήψασαν ἔκ τινων θύραθεν κακῶν ἐπιτεταμένων, ἐξήλασε. Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν χρηματίζειν τοιαῦτα καὶ μονονοὺ τοὺς αὑτοῦ δουλοῦσθαι δοκεῖν ἑτέροις, ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πολὺ βελτίους, οἷα κέντρον γέγονεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν δεόντων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἀνεκαίνιζέ πως εὐθὺς τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔρωτα. Εἰκότως· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ γενναιότης ἀποκαμοῦσα πρός τι φαυλότερον ἀποκλίνῃ (πολλὰ δ᾽ ἂν τοιαῦτα γένοιτο παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), πολλάκις μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τρέχει, ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένη τοῦ πράττειν, μισήσασα τὸ f.34 αἶσχος, ἀποπηδᾷ καὶ θερμότερον | ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὁρμὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προσθήκης ὁ πρὶν ἐπάνεισι τόνος· ἡ δὲ παλινδρομοῦσα πρὸς αὐτό, προθυμότερον ζητεῖ τοῦθ᾽ εὑρεῖν, καὶ εὑροῦσα γε λοιπὸν ἀπρὶξ τούτου ἔχεται· ὃ δὴ κἀνταῦθα συμβέβηκεν.

Αὐτίκα γὰρ ἀκούσασι τὸ μέλλον μὲν οὐδαμῶς, δοκοῦν δ᾽ ὅμως γενήσεσθαι, ἀνήφθη τούτοις ὁ πυρσὸς τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀγάπης ὥσπερ ἀπό τινος σπινθῆρος αἰθάλῃ συχνῇ κατακεχωσμένου τοῖς τοῦ καιροῦ συμπτώμασι, καὶ ὁ τῆς δόξης ἔρως ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δεσπότην μεμηνὸς ἀνηβᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡσπερεὶ παρηβηκὸς καὶ ἔξωρον γενόμενον τῷ παντ᾽ ἀμβλύνοντι χρόνῳ. Ἐῴκεσαν οὖν ἐξεστηκόσιν ἡ Πελοπόννησος, εἰ δόξαιεν ἄλλους ἐθέλειν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέξασθαι. Καὶ πολεμεῖν Ῥοδίοις φανερῶς ἤρξαντο, καὶ ψήφισμα γέγονε κοινόν, ὅρκοις τὸ βέβαιον ἐσχηκός, ἢ τοὺς Φρερίους ἐξελάσαι τῆς αὐτῶν ἢ τεθνάναι, τὸν δὲ φιλούμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαναλαβεῖν δεσπότην, εἰ καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεβάλοντο. Ὁρᾶτε μοι τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὴν περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐπιστήμην; Τῷ γὰρ ἐνδοῦναι δεδόχθαι καὶ ταύτῃ γε τὸν ὄλεθρον ὑποδεῖξαι, τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνον βαδίζοντας ἔσωσεν, ἐφ᾽ ἃ προσῆκε παλινοστήσαντας. Καὶ δὴ

---

5. νωθείαν (ex νοθείαν) P: WVa: νοθείαν V | 10. εὐθὺς PVW: αὐτοῖς Va | 11 γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 22. παρηβηκὸς PVVa: (ex παραβεβηκὸς) W | 28. ἀπεβάλοντο PVW: ἀπεβάλλοντο Va | 29. τῷ PVVa: τὸ W

duty. And indeed they accomplished such things by opposing what was their duty, so that they too inspired their Despot with courage and in the event of Bayezid refusing to make a truce they were prepared either to prove to the Sultan that he had been cheated of his hopes or to die gloriously on the battlefield. This in fact was what your Despot had always wished, this was the goal towards which his actions and preparations were directed.

The old war, so to speak, took a new turn when my brother and all the others auspiciously swore to do their duty. The news spread everywhere and the deed won admiration while he who had initiated it and brought it to a successful end was especially honoured in hymns. So then he returned from Monemvasia to Sparta and persuaded the Romans and the Hospitallers, who held a number of cities in the Peloponnese, to desist from fighting each other any longer[124]. He knew that the cessation of hostilities would bring about a happy ending as indeed it did[125].

As soon as truce had been concluded between the two sides he went on with his preparations for the war against the Turks[126], hoping to receive help from God and at the same time being prepared to die willingly for the deliverance of his people and for immortal glory. 'Those who fight that they may die shall live for ever'. This was the message that once the Spartans sent to their own soldiers. He kept this belief alive within him and praised it and by his action proved it to be

124. Theodore had moved his headquarters to Monemvasia as part of the agreement (see above p. 183,*16-17*). Chalcocandyles reports that the negotiations with the people of Mistra for Theodore's return were first conducted through his representatives. On his return to Mistra he had to take an oath that he would abstain from similar actions in future (B)98 = (D)91-92.

125. These events seem to have occurred in the autumn of 1400 for on 7 November the grand-master Philibert de Naillac authorised Raymond de Lescure and Ellie de Fossat to negotiate for the retrocession of the Despotate and to demand the restitution of moneys, jewels and all other objects which had been deposited with the Despot. They were also to ask for the disbursement of expenses incurred by the Order over the transaction (AOM MS 330, f. 125^v-126). Delaville Le Roux assumed that this document showed that the original deal, namely the purchase of the Despotate by the Order, had not been ratified by then and that Naillac as well as Theodore possibly had second thoughts (*Hospitaliers*, p. 280). Such an interpretation however goes counter to Manuel's insistence that the transaction was completed within a short time (see above pp. 183,*10*-185,*3*).

126. Though, at the news of Timur's attack on eastern Asia Minor, Bayezid was

τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῦτον θαρρεῖν, ὡς εἰ μὴ ὁ Παγιαζίτης διαλλαγείη, αὐτοὺς ἢ δείξειν τοῦτον τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίδος διαμαρτάνοντα ἢ μετ' εὐκλείας τεθνήξεσθαι μαχομένους· ὅπερ οὗτος θέλων ἦν καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων πάντα κατεσκεύαζέ τε καὶ ἔπραττεν.

Ἄλλην οὖν νέαν ἀρχὴν εἰληφότος τοῦ γεγηρακότος, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, πολέμου, τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πάντων ὀμωμοκότων ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
f.34v ἅπερ ἐχρῆν ὀμωμοκέναι τῶν δε| όντων ἕνεκα, τό τε ἔργον ἐθαυμάζετο, πανταχόσε διαδραμούσης τῆς φήμης, ὅ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐργασάμενος καὶ διὰ πάντων καλῶς περάνας διαφερόντως ὑμνεῖτο. Εἰς Σπάρτην οὖν ἐπανιὼν ἐκ Μονεμβασίας, πείθει Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Ῥοδίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ κατέχοντάς τινας πόλεις μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμάχεσθαι τέως. Ἤδει γὰρ τοῦτο λῆξον πρὸς ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ τέλος· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ γέγονε πάντως.

Καὶ τοίνυν ἀνακωχῆς δεδομένης τῷ μεταξὺ τούτων πολέμῳ, αὐτὸς δὴ πράττει τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν ἐλπίζων, δεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ θανεῖν ἄσμενος ὡς σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν καὶ δόξης αἴτιον ἀθανάτου. Μαχέσθων ὡς τεθναξόμενοι καὶ οὐ τεθνάξονται· ἐπέστειλάν ποτε τοῖς αὐτῶν οἱ τῆς Σπάρτης. Τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἔνηχον ἔχων τὸ δόγμα καὶ ἐπαινῶν ἔργῳ

18-19. locum non inveni; cf. Id., PG 156, no. 87, p. 376; Theophylactum Achridensem (ed. P. Gautier, CFHB, Thessalonica 1980), p. 161, *27*.

---

3. αὐτὸν PVW: αὐτῶν Va | 9. πανταχόσε (-οσε in ras.) PV:W: πανταχῇ Va.

---

forced to interrupt his campaign against the Morea in the autumn of 1400 and hurry back to meet his opponent, the Turkish incursions into the Peloponnese continued. Nauplion, Coron and Modon were attacked with serious losses (A.S.V. Miscellanea Gregolin B.6 cited by Dennis, «Three reports», pp. 262-3 (I have been unable to examine this document as it is no longer extant under this classification); Chalcocandyles (B)145
p. 13).

true. For he had hardly reached Sparta when the Sultan's ambassadors hurriedly arrived in Lacedaemon and made peace. They made a number of promises but demanded nothing in return except that the Hospitallers should go back to their own territory[127].

So a lasting peace was signed (if one can call lasting an agreement concluded with barbarians) and he brought the war to an end to your considerable glory[128]. And what was dead a short time before began to come to life again, and what had been withered to sprout again, and what had shed its foliage to bloom anew. Within a short time the fields of the Peloponnese were waving with corn and the trees were laden with fruit. And so the man who with God's help performed such deeds was in no way to be blamed but on the contrary deserved to be praised for his power of discernment by men of sound judgment and also by the chorus of angels and by God by whose aid these things had been accomplished. For his success in planning these things and putting them into practice from beginning to end and bringing them to a successful conclusion would have been impossible had he not been blessed with help from heaven. It is true that at first the difficulties came upon him suddenly and often with violence but this is a further proof of God's favour towards him. For God did not wish virtue to remain unrewarded and unknown since there is nothing more praiseworthy than virtue. On the contrary, since it was possible for Theodore to beat

intensity and progress, and He bestowed a courageous spirit on the combatant so that he won a victory and a crown.

For this champion, your Despot, with whom you fought, he as

---

127. The date of this event is not known. Earlier in the text (p. 187) Manuel had said that Bayezid's embassy to his brother was sent from Asia. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that the embassy came more specifically from Brusa, the Ottoman capital. If so, this event could be placed in the early months of 1401 when Bayezid had returned to Brusa from his Armenian campaign and before he had left for Hadrianople (Ducas (B)58-59 = (G)89). Alternatively the embassy's arrival in Mistra could be placed in the winter of

more in Brusa preparing for his final assault on Constantinople when he was forced to abandon it at the news of Timur's capture of Erzincan and Sevasteia. He disbanded his sailors in Callipolis and set out to meet Timur sometime in March (ASV Notai di Candia, Atti di Francesco Avonal, 1400.III.3, ed. Dennis, «Three reports», p. 247). It is more likely that the embassy to Theodore was sent at this stage when Bayezid thought it politically expedient to improve his relations with his

ἀληθὲς ἔδειξεν. Οὐκ ἔφθη γὰρ τὴν Σπάρτην καταλαβών, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σατράπου πρεσβεία σπουδῇ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν εἰρήνην, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπισχνούμενοι, μηδὲν δὲ ἀπαιτήσαντες ἢ τὸ τοὺς Φρερίους ἐπαναστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν.

Καὶ δὴ σπονδῶν γενομένων ἰσχυροτάτων (ὅσα γε τὰ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχυρότατα λέγειν ἔξεστι), μετὰ δόξης οὐ σμικρᾶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ὑμῖν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀναβιοῦν πως ἤρξατο τὰ μικροῦ νεκρὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ πρὶν μεμαρασμένα ἀναθάλλειν καὶ τὰ κατερρυηκότα ἀνθεῖν ἐς αὖθις καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκόμα τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἔβριθέ γε πᾶσα ἡ Πελοπόννησος οὐ μετὰ πολύν τινα χρόνον. Ὥστ' οὐχ ὅπως ἀνεμέσητος ὁ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ταῦτα πράξας, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπαινετὸς τῆς τοιαύτης διαγνώσεως ἀνθρώποις τε νοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ χοροῖς ἀγγέλων καὶ θεῷ, οὗ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο.
f.35 Τὸ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τοῦτον βουλεύ|σασθαι, καὶ διὰ τέλους καλῶς ἐργάσασθαι καὶ δυνηθῆναι περᾶναι, πολλῆς τινος πάντως ἦν εὐμοιροῦντος οὐρανόθεν ἐπικουρίας. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπῆλθε τὰ δυσχερῆ συχνόν τινα χρόνον μετὰ σφοδρότητος, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο εὐμενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τεκμήριον· οὐδὲ γὰρ μένειν ἠθέλησε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγέραστόν τε καὶ ἀνεπίδεικτον, ᾧ μηδὲν αὐτῆς τιμιώτερον, ἀλλὰ παρὸν εὐθὺς ἀποκρούσασθαι πᾶν δεινόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον εἴασεν ἐπιταθῆναι καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι· παρέσχετο δὲ ἀνδρίαν τῷ ἀθλητῇ, ὥστε περιγεγονέναι τε καὶ ἐστεφανῶσθαι.

Ὁ γοῦν ἀθλητὴς οὗτος, ᾧ γε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνηθλεῖτε, καθάπερ

---

7. ἤρξατο PVW: ἤρξαντο Va | 11. τοῦ PWVa: om. V | 18. εὐνοίας PVVa: al. man. s.s. εὐμενείας P: W | 19. αὐτῆς PVVa: αὐτοῖς W.

---

former enemies to safeguard his western possessions. His fears seem to have been justified, for another report in Avonal speaks of Mircea of Wallachia, the Hungarians and the Tartars of western Wallachia making themselves ready to move into Turkish territory (Ibid., p. 248).

Prima facie winter of 1401/2 may seem too late a date when we consider Manuel's statement that Theodore «had hardly reached Sparta when the Sultan's ambassadors hurriedly arrived in Lacedaemon and made peace». But we have no evidence as to how long the tripartite negotiations among the people of Mistra, Theodore and the Hospitallers lasted. Given that the Despot had to restore part of the money and given the serious burdens the war had imposed on him, his return to Mistra may well have taken some months to materialize. (See also below p. 210, n. 131).

128. This treaty is not mentioned by other sources.

head, you as limbs[129], succeeded in two things, though he would have been content had either one or the other had been successful, for both were excellent. The results bear witness. First, our enemy, the Sultan, put aside his ferocity and tried to appear as a mild man (he put on a sheepskin though he was a downright wolf). Then the Peloponnese threw over her shoulder like a splendid cloak an extraordinary glory which was deserved not only because of her previous achievements but also for the effort and determination shown in the war against the Turks whose strength was then at its highest peak. Surely everybody would admire the head and the limbs (I mean him and you) for all their achievements, from beginning to end, to put it briefly. So far so good.

It was absolutely essential to bring safely under Roman rule the cities which were still occupied by the Hospitallers and this was achieved and the whole affair was arranged honourably so that their friendship towards us was not impaired[130] and they agreed that we should take over the cities and later they willingly handed the

---

129. See above p. 12, n. 33.

130. Theodore entered into negotiations with the Hospitallers for the retrocession of the Despotate in the spring of 1402, but withdrew when he failed to muster the necessary funds (AOM MS 332, f.162^v-163; MS 333, f.115-115^v). Relations between the two parties were further complicated when Süleyman I granted the county of Salona (most probably claimed by the Palaeologi as heirs to the possessions of the last countess of Salona, their cousin Helena Cantacuzene) to the Hospitallers early in 1403 (Pacta 6, f. 128^v alias 130^v, ed. G. T. Dennis, *OCP*, 33(1967), 80 § 29). It is possible however that Byzantine troops actually took possession of some of these arears. A similar situation arose with the Venetians when Manuel's troops took over localities opposite Negrepont ceded to them by Süleyman (Sathas II, p. 121, no. 340). By April 1430 relations between Theodore and the Order seemed to have become so strained that it was rumoured in Rhodes that the Knights were about to take punitive action against the Despot for having contravened the treaty (Cod. Marc. Lat. Cl.10, no.299, coll.3512, f.166^v). By the following year however all misunderstandings had been resolved and negotiations were resumed. On 5 April 1404 Dominic de Alamania was empowered by the Grand-master to negotiate, at Theodore's indication, with Manuel II for the retrocession of the Despotate (AOM MS 333, f.115-115^v).These negotiations aimed also at acquiring territories pertaining to the county of Salona and Zeitouni, the latter place having been ceded to the Byzantines by Süleyman I (AOM MS 333, ff.117^v-118; 120^v; Chalcocandyles (B) 174 = (D) 163). In the acquisition of these arears the Hospitallers proved unsuccessful. See also above p. 23.

κεφαλῇ μέλη, δυοῖν ἅμα τετύχηκεν, ὧν κἂν θατέρου τυχὼν ἠγάπησεν· ἑκάτερον γὰρ λαμπρόν. Καὶ δηλοῖ τὰ πράγματα· ὅ τε γὰρ ἐχθρὸς σατράπης τὸ θηριῶδες ἐν μέρει θεὶς πρᾶον ἑαυτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο δεικνύναι (ἐνέδυ γὰρ τὴν μηλωτήν, λύκος ἄντικρυς ὤν), ἥ τε Πελοπόννησος πᾶσα ὑπερφυᾶ τινα δόξαν ὥσπερ χιτῶνα λαμπρὸν ἀνεβάλοντο, οὐ μόνον γε τῶν προλαβόντων ἁπάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνης τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ τῆς προθέσεως ἕνεκα τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πολέμου, οἷς τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως σφόδρα ἤκμαζε. Πάντες οὖν εἰκότως θαυμάσαιεν τήν τε κεφαλήν, τά τε μέλη — ὑμᾶς τε λέγω κἀκεῖνον — πάντων ἕνεκα τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους, εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν. Εἶεν δή.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντως ἐχρῆν καὶ τὰς ἔτι κατεχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλεις ἐπανασωθῆναι τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ γέγονεν, οὕτως ὑγιῶς κατασκευασθέντος τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς μήτε τὴν φιλίαν ἐκείνων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμβλυτέραν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἡμῖν ἐκείνους συγχωρεῖν ἐπαναλαμβάνειν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς | f.35v ἀκροπόλεις

5. ἀνεβάλοντο (ex -λλ-) P: VW: ἀνεβάλλοντο Va | 7. οἷς PVW: ἧς Va.

strongholds over to us[131]. Theodore, this man who was so prudent, so just, so courageous, neither desiring pleasures nor giving himself up to apathy, so capable of endurance in distress and in danger, so skilful in everything and full of the spirit of moderation, who did not consider anything to be pleasurable unless he felt sure it would profit the common good, as our speech has just revealed and experience has clearly proved, what tongue, what voice, what mind or wisdom could adequately celebrate him? Surely this would be impossible to achieve even should all history and poetry come together, men like Nestor, Odysseus, Antenoor and all the hosts of the orators, men like Pythagoras and Plato and all others with like qualities. His deeds would, I think, admirably suffice to demonstrate his excellence.

Yet even if there were a need for a monument to his honour he raised it for himself and set it up and carved it with greater skill than that of Pheidias. I call the Peloponnese his monument. Let no one

---

131. The agreement between Manuel II and Alamania on the repurchase of the Despotate was signed in Constantinople on 5 May 1404. On behalf of his brother Manuel agreed to pay 46,500 ducats. Of these, 43,000 ducats were for the recovery of the castellany of Corinth and Kalavryta; the 3,500 ducats for expenses incurred by the Hospitallers for the upkeep of fortresses, castles etc. To facilitate the deal, the sum of 46,500 ducats was to be paid in three instalments. And provided jewels and relics as collateral security were deposited with the Order, Theodore was to be given possession of the two castellanies on payment of the first instalment of 16,000 ducats (AOM MS 334, f. 147-147^{v}-148, date of 15 May wrongly given by Delaville Le Roulx, p. 301. Correct date given by Loenertz, «Pour l'histoire», p. 263 but wrongly printed as 15 May in his Chron. Mor. p. 427; mistake repeated by Schreiner CBB II, p. 385). According to the stipulations, the first payment was made at Vasilopotamo on board of Alamania's galley on 14 June 1404 (AOM MS 334, f.148. Date wrongly given by Loenertz as 4 June in «Pour l'histoire», p. 263 but corrected in his Chron. Mor. p. 427. Schreiner CBB II, p. 381 gives the erroneous date). The same day Corinth (CBB I, 33$_{2}$ 23, p. 246) and most probably Kalavryta were returned to the Despot. The second instalment of 15,000 ducats was collected by Peter Holt soon after 20 December 1404 (AOM MS 333, f.121^{v}; MS 334, f.148 where his procuration is dated 13 December). Holt also received part of the third instalment amounting to 10,500 ducats at Monemvasia on board his galley soon after 28 November 1405 (AOM MS 334 f.148. Delaville Le Roulx p. 301 wrongly gives 10,000 ducats). The remainder of 5,000 ducats were paid by Manuel after Theodore's death and after the Order's repeated demands. On 15 February 1408 Naillac delegated Jacopo Crispo, duke of Archipelago, and Pier Zen, lord of Andros, to demand the 5,000 ducats from the Emperor (AOM MS 334, f.146^{v}-149^{v}).

ἐθελοντὰς ἐγχειρίζειν. Τὸν γοῦν οὕτω μὲν φρόνιμον, οὕτω δὲ δίκαιον, οὕτω δὲ ἀνδρεῖον, οὕτω δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς κεχηνότα μηδὲ ῥᾳθυμίαις ἑαυτὸν δεδωκότα, οὕτω δὲ καρτερικὸν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις, οὕτω δὲ δεξιὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὅλως βρίθοντα τοῖς καλοῖς μετὰ πολλῆς μετριότητος καὶ μηδὲν ἡγούμενον τρυφὴν ἢ ὅσαπερ ἠπίστατο συνοίσοντα τῷ κοινῷ, ὡς ὅ τε λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσε καὶ ἡ πεῖρα σαφῶς παρέστησε, ποία τις γλῶσσα, ποία φωνή, νοῦς δὲ τίς ἢ φρόνησις ἀρκέσειεν ἂν ὑμνῆσαι; Ἢ που γε οὐκ ἐφικτόν, οὐδ' εἰ συνέλθοιεν ὁμοῦ πᾶσα συγγραφή τε καὶ ποίησις, Νέστορές τε καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖς καὶ Ἀντήνορες καὶ οἱ τῶν ῥητόρων πάντες χοροὶ καὶ Πυθαγόραι καὶ Πλάτωνες καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες. Αὐτὰ δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, τὰ πεπραγμένα πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καλῶς ἀρκέσειεν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ στήλης αὐτῷ προσδεῖ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀνήγειρέ τε καὶ ἔπηξεν, ἀποξέσας δεξιῶς ἄγαν, ἄμεινον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Φειδίου τέχνην, λέγω δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τήνδε. Καὶ μή τις νομίσῃ τὴν

12. ἀρκέσειεν PWVa: ἀρκέσειν V.

Later in December they entrusted the task to Janoti Bexacia and Branca Spinola, both Genoese inhabitants of Pera. Presumably the debt was finally paid then (AOM MS 334, f.153^{v}). For these two Genoese see N. Iorga «Comptes de la colonie de Pera» *ROL,* 4 (1896), 93.

The scrutiny of the above-mentioned document has revealed important information concerning Macarius, bishop of Ancyra, who in September 1405 was deposed for his activities against the Patriarch Matthew I, and excommunicated in 1409. In the agreement of 5 May 1404, signed in Constantinople, Manuel appointed Macarius as his representative who was to hand the money over to the Order (f.147). Most probably it was Macarius who made the payment of the first and second instalment on 14 June and in late December 1404 (f.148). On his own evidence the bishop twice visited the Peloponnese on a mission on behalf of the emperor (ed. V. Laurent, *REB,* 30 (1972), p. 156, *4-5,* p. 157, *10-13.* In the accusation brought against him it is also said «ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Μορραίαν ἵνα ποιῇς τὰς δουλείας αὐτοῦ» p. 157, *23-4).* Though the purpose of the mission or business is never specified in the Greek source, it is now possible, on the basis of the Order's document, to establish beyond doubt that this referred to the repurchase of the Despotate.

assume that I refer to the inanimate, just as someone it is said to have told King Alexander that he would endow Athos with his form in a posture fitting such a great king[132] — this of course would be impossible — but I refer to the animate and rational Peloponnese, indeed to you gentlemen whose integrity of character has preserved a monument in everlasting honour of him. Since your experience of political virtue and participation in the good way of life owed much to him, your moulder, trainer and teacher in moral excellence, it is as though you, the many, have been inextricably joined together by him into a single monument and fashioned by him into a unity of infinite beauty.

My brother being such a man I should have done an injustice to him and to the virtue which completely adorned him were I to have compared him with the present generation. I do not refer to his parents but, as Homer says, to the men who came 'after the son of Peleus'[133]. Indeed we must compare him with the men of the past and again with those who in virtue are agreed to have outshone all others. Such men, I think, though they were not the first to begin hostilities, undertook the long voyage, suffered whatever resulted from that venture and sacked Troy for the sake of displaying virtue. We believe that we shall not be censured were we to compare my brother with the best of those men. Their deeds were excellent and have been fitly praised by Homer thanks to whom they have continued to be admired up to the present day. However if our excellent deeds (for brothers share in things) were one by one to be compared with theirs it will not be said that ours were inferior. Let us subject the man to a test lest we should appear to have given him excessive praise on the pretext that we were being kind to a brother. We shall procceed with the examination as briefly as possible. The argument is not about devoutness with which no virtue can be compared, for I think no virtue is virtue in the proper sense unless it is rooted in devoutness.

King Agamemnon was 'leader of many armies'[134], great-hearted, majestic, staunch while Achilles son of Peleus was valiant as none

132. Suggested by the artist Stasicrates: Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 72; Idem, *Moralia* 335C-E.

133. Homer, *Iliad* 2,674.

134. Homer, *Iliad* 1,16.375.

ἄψυχον, ὥς τινά φασιν εἰρηκέναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰδοποιῆσαι πάντα τὸν Ἄθω πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μορφὴν ἐν σχήματι προσήκοντι τοσῷδε βασιλεῖ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀδύνατον) ἀλλὰ.Πελοπόννησον ἤδη λέγω τὴν ἔμψυχόν τε καὶ λογικήν, ὑμᾶς γε δήπου τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, τύπον ἀνδριάντος ἐκείνῳ σῴζοντας τῇ τῶν ἠθῶν εὐκοσμίᾳ πρὸς εὐφημίαν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμπειρία πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τρόπων ἀγαθῶν μετουσία ἐκεῖνόν γε καὶ πλάστην καὶ ἀλείπτην καὶ διδάσκαλον ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, ᾗ πού γε ἐκείνῳ στήλη πεπήγατε μία τις ἄντικρυς οἱ πολλοί, ἀπεξεσμένοι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἓν ἀμήχανον κάλλος.

f.36 Ὄντα δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοιοῦτον ἀδικοίην ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἁπλῶς, ἥτις τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκόσμησεν, εἰ τοῖς νῦν ἀνθρώποις παραβάλλοιμι. Οὐ λέγω δὲ περὶ τῶν φυσάντων, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα, φησὶν Ὅμηρος· τοιγαροῦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐκεῖνον παραθετέον καὶ τούτων αὖθις ἐκείνοις, οἷς τὸ συγκεχωρηκὸς πολὺ παρὰ πάντων ἦν. Εἶεν δ᾽ ἄν, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνοι, οἳ δι᾽ ἀρετῆς ἔνδειξιν τὸν ἀπόπλουν τὸν μακρὸν ἀνεδέξαντο καὶ ὅσαπερ ἐκ τούτου συμβέβηκε, καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπόρθησαν, οὐκ ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἄρξαντες. Ἡγούμεθα δὲ μηδεμίαν ἡμᾶς δέξεσθαι μέμψιν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐκείνοις τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραβάλλοιμεν. Καλὰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ᾽κείνων ἐπιεικῶς καὶ οἷα σχεῖν ἐπαινέτην αὐτὸν Ὅμηρον· διὸ δὴ καὶ διήρκεσε θαυμαζόμενα ἄχρι δεῦρο· πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ταῦτα (τὰ γὰρ ἀδελφῶν κοινά), ἢν ἕκαστα ἑκάστοις παρατεθῇ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις καλῶν, οὐκ ἔνι λέγειν ὡς ἥττηται. Καὶ δὴ βασάνῳ δῶμεν ὡδὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ἵνα μὴ δόξωμέν τισιν ὑπερβολαῖς καταχρῆσθαι, ὡς δῆθεν ἀδελφῷ χαριζόμενοι· τὴν δὲ παρεξέτασιν ποιησόμεθα συνελόντες ὁπόσον ἔξεστιν. Ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν ἔσται, πρὸς ἣν οὐδὲ παραβάλλειν ἐξόν ἐστιν, οἶμαι, τὰς ἀρετάς, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀρεταὶ κυρίως μὴ ῥίζης ταύταις οὔσης ἐκείνης.

Ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων βασιλεύς, λεῶν κοσμήτωρ ὅ τι πλείστων, μεγάθυμος, μεγαλοπρεπής, καρτερός· Πηλείδης δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀν-

---

1-3. Plutarchus, *Vita Alexandri* 72; Id. *Moralia* 335C-E. 13. Homerus, *Ilias* 2.674. 30. Homerus, *Ilias* 1.16 etc.

---

10. Στᾶσις γ΄ mg. codd. 13. Πηλείωνα (ex -ίω-) P: Πηλίωνα VVa: Πηλίονα W | 19. δέξεσθαι (ex -ασ-) P: δέξεσθα VWVa.

other, 'swift on his feet'[135], handsome, of brilliant descent, eager for distinction, preferring a short life with glory to a long one without it. Protesilaus for the sake of great fame considered death, whom all fear, as his friend and by his death made it possible for the Greeks to vanguish the barbarians[136]. Nestor[137], Odysseus[138] and others were endowed with great wisdom and prided themselves on their powers of persuasion. The son of Tydeus took pride in the javelin[139], Ajax in his strength and large stature[140], Teucer in archery[141] while others among them thought themselves by far better in various other achievements. Indeed Hector prided himself for his courage among the Trojans[142], and Antenor for his oratory[143]. Even among the allies a great number of them distinguished themselves in horsemanship and in many other skills as indeed many others did so on account of other feats. Many of these men were thought to be demigods because of their superior virtue, though they were full of vices. But I ought to speak only of their good qualities, therefore I shall not mention now their sordid love of gain, their pettiness of spirit, their love of pleasure and in short all the vices which if one were to look for them he would find planted in them here and there. And the fact that I attribute bad qualities to these men who are admired for their virtue is not necessarily contradictory. For no man is absolutely and entirely good, like words which truthfully convey their exact meaning, but a man is considered to be so if in individual aspects of his character he is truly and in a greater measure good. Indeed some men have an advantage over others in the quality of their virtue, or even in respect of one or two of the chief virtues, while others excel in possessing a number of virtues. In my opinion, it would naturally be better, or at least it would be just as good, to possess a greater number of virtues rather than a few of a higher standard, since it is impossible for one man to surpass everybody in everything. For

---

135. Homer, *Iliad* 1,58.215.
136. Homer, *Iliad* 2,698-702.
137. Homer, *Iliad* 1,246ff.; et passim.
138. Homer, *Iliad* 1,311 et passim; Id., *Odyssey* 4,271-289; 8,492-515.
139. Homer, *Iliad* 23,681.
140. Homer, *Iliad* 7,206-213, *et alibi*.
141. Homer, *Iliad* 23,850ff.; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 5.5.
142. Homer, *Iliad* 12,37ff., *et alibi*.
143. Homer, *Iliad* 3,146-153.

δρεῖος ὅσον οὐχ ἕτερος, ὠκὺς τὼ πόδε, καλὸς τὸ εἶδος, ῥίζης λαμπρᾶς, φιλότιμος καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐκλείας ζῆσαι βραχύτερον τοῦ γε βιῶναι μακρότερον ἐκείνης ἄνευ προτεθεικώς· Πρωτεσίλεως, ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀγαθῆς δόξης, αὐτὸν ὃν φρίττουσι πάντες θάνατον φίλον ἡγησάμενος καὶ δοὺς ἰδίᾳ τελευτῇ κρατῆσαι τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς|
f.36v Ἕλληνας· Νέστωρ, Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἕτεροι πολλῇ τινι κοσμούμενοι φρονήσει καὶ τῇ τῆς πειθοῦς δυνάμει φιλοτιμούμενοι. Ἐφρόνει μέγα ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως ἐπὶ τῷ δόρατι, Αἴας ἐπὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ εὐμεγέθης εἶναι, ἐπὶ τῇ τοξικῇ Τεῦκρος, καὶ τούτων αὖθις ἕτεροι ἐδόκουν εἶναι πολλῷ βελτίους ἐν ἄλλοις διαφόροις πλεονεκτήμασι, καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἕκτωρ εἰς εὐψυχίαν ἐν τοῖς Τρωσί, καὶ εἰς ῥητορείαν Ἀντήνωρ. Κἂν τοῖς συμμάχοις δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ λαμπροὶ πεφήνασιν ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἱππικῇ καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις πλεονεκτήμασι καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα πλεῖστοι. Τούτων ἡμίθεοι πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς περιὸν ἐνομίσθησαν, καίτοι παθῶν γέμοντες. Λεκτέον δέ μοι τὰ κρείττω περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγω νῦν αἰσχροκέρδειαν, μικροψυχίαν, φιληδονίαν καὶ συλλήβδην πάντα τὰ πάθη, ἅ τις ἂν ζητήσας εὑρήσειε σποράδην ἐν ἐκείνοις πεφυτευμένα· καὶ τοῦτό μου τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ἀντιπίπτει περιάπτοντος κακίαν τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμαζομένοις ἐκείνοις. Ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος οὐχ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀπολελυμένως ὥσπερ τὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ταύτην γνησίως εἰληχότα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι μόνοις καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείονος μέρους. Καὶ τοίνυν οἱ μὲν πλεονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἄλλων κατά τινα ποιότητα ἀρετῆς ἢ δυοῖν τυχὸν τῶν γενικωτέρων, οἱ δὲ τῷ πλείους κεκτῆσθαι. Εἴη δ' ἂν εἰκότως τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀρετῶν ἄθροισμα ἢ κρεῖττον, οἶμαι, τῶν ὀλίγων τε καὶ τελεωτέρων ἢ γοῦν οὐχ ἧττον. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀμήχανον τοῖς ὅλοις

---

1. Homerus, *Ilias* 1.58, 215 etc. 3-6. Ibid. 2.698-702; Tzetzes, *Schol. ad Lycophronem* 245. 6. cf. Homerum, *Ilias* 1.247-249; 8 cf. Ib. 23.681; 8-9. cf. Ib. 7.206-213. 9. cf Ib. 8.274-282; 12.350; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 5.5. 11. cf. Homerum, *Ilias* 12.37-48. 12. cf. Ib. 3.148-152.

---

11. ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶ mg. P: in textu VWVa. 25. ἀρετῶν ἄθροισμα (ex ἄθροισμα ἀρετῶν per s.s. α'β'γ') P: VWVa.

example Achilles was undoubtedly inferior to Nestor in experience or wisdom just as Nestor was inferior to Achilles in military matters and in valour, and in the same way some of the men whom I have mentioned were surpassed in certain qualities, but excelled in others. If the man we are honouring with our praise should appear to some inferior in certain qualities to those admirable men, yet because he surpasses all or many of them in most things, it seems to me that in fact he did outstrip them in many and all kinds of virtues. And further, to these virtues I would add his ability to avoid disaster, to win an advantage over adversity and to leave nothing undone that befits an admirable man. Since we desire that the comparison with men who acquired illustrious fame by their character should be accurate we must take into consideration not only the quality of their virtue but also the number of their virtues and whether it is a case of a few outstanding virtues or of a greater number of more modest quality. We must indeed compare a multitude of virtues with the quality of the better virtues which are nevertheless fewer in number. It is the same principle when one weighs a number of drachmas exactly equal in weight to a talent, and this in the case of a golden talent. Now this metal is considered by those who want to make money as by far the most valuable, and yet a talent in gold would be of less value to them against a wealth of silver talents. Since this is the case, I think, it would be fairer to chose the man who has surpassed the others in many virtues rather than to prefer all the others to him, even if each one of them, though disfigured by strange vices, shone more than he did in a small number of virtues or even in one which happened to be among those more prized.

We must also bear this in mind. In the days which produced the so-called heroes, men strove eagerly to exhibit their great nobility of spirit to those seeking after virtue and looked upon the victorious athletes crowned by virtue as those to be most honoured. Our times do not do this at all. For the love of distinction has all but flown away and pleasures are now considered more valuable than honour. Therefore when we compare both periods and the admirable men who lived in them and their achievements and above all those deeds which encourage virtue, we must indeed greatly admire this man who by his

πάντων τινὰ κρατεῖν (Νέστορος γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Ἀχιλλέως Νέστωρ ἥττων γε πάντως ἦν, ὁ μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ τε καὶ φρονήσει, ὁ δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ γενναιότητι, καὶ ὅλως τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος f.37 τῶν μὲν ἡττᾶτο, τῶν δὲ ἐκράτει ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ πλεονεκτήματι), | ἂν ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐφημούμενος ἥττων μὲν τῶν θαυμασίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων δόξῃ πού τινος εἶναι ταύτην ἢ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀρετήν, πάντας δὲ ἑξῆς νικῶν ἢ τοὺς πλείους ἐν ταῖς πλείοσι, δοκῶ μοι τῷ πολλοὺς τοιούτους παρενεγκεῖν πολλαῖς τε καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ἀρεταῖς (προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ τῶν κακῶν) ἢ πλεονεκτήσειν ἐκείνων ἢ μηδὲν ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θαυμαστὸς ἀνὴρ εἶναι. Ἀκριβῶς γὰρ θέλοντας ἡμᾶς παραθεῖναι ἄνδρας ἀγαθὴν κεκτημένους δόξαν ἀπὸ τῶν τρόπων, οὐ τὰς ποιότητας μόνον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν προσλογίζεσθαι χρή, κἂν ὦσιν ἔν τισι μὲν αἱ κρείττους, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ αἱ πολλαί, ἀντιτιθέναι τουτὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ τε μεγέθει ταῖς τε ποιότησι τῶν ἀμεινόνων μὲν πλεονεκτημάτων, ὀλίγων δ' οὖν ὅμως. Ἐπεί τοι καὶ δραχμαὶ πολλαί, ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱστάναι τις ἐνέγκῃ, γένοιντ' ἂν ἰσόρροποι ἑνί που πάντως ταλάντῳ, καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντον, ὕλης ὂν τιμιωτέρας πάντων ἑξῆς τῶν μετάλλων τοῖς χρηματίζεσθαι βουλομένοις, ἀτιμότερον ἂν γένοιτο τούτοις ἀργυρίου πλήθους ταλάντων. Ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πολλῷ γε δικαιότερον, οἶμαι, τὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν πολλοῖς παρενεγκόντα πλεονεκτήμασι, τοῦτον ἐκείνων προκρίνεσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἅπαντας αὐτοῦ, εἴ γε τούτων ἕκαστος μᾶλλον ἐκείνου διέλαμψεν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἀρεταῖς ἢ μιᾷ τυχὸν τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, καὶ ταῦτα πάθεσιν ἀλλοκότοις συμπεφυρμένος.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκείνου μεμνῆσθαι χρή· ὁ γὰρ τηνικαῦτα καιρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους ἥρωας ἐνεγκὼν πολλὴν τὴν γενναιότητα παρεῖχε σπεύδειν δεικνύναι τοῖς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένοις, εἰς τοὺς δι' αὐτὴν στεφανίτας καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς τιμήν, μεγίστην οὖσαν, ὁρῶσιν· ὁ νῦν f.37ᵛ δὲ πάντως οὐκέτι. Τό τε γὰρ φιλότιμον μικροῦ δεῖν πάντων | ἀπέπτη, τά τε ἡδέα τῶν καλῶν πολλῷ νυνὶ τιμιώτερα. Ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς καιροὺς τις ὁρῶν ἑκατέρους καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θαυμαζομένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ τούτοις εἰργασμένα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς ἀρετήν, μᾶλλόν γε θαυμάσεται τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἤδη τοιοῦτον

5-6. ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων PWVa: ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν V.

own resources proved himself to be so noble, rather than men who were spurred on by other men's virtue. For the man who has not many people to compete with in the display of virtue becomes less active in his toil for fame. And what is more rare is universally admired.

From these arguments it is right and necessary, I think, to conclude that the man who has already been compared with past heroes is neither inferior nor second to anyone (I speak in moderation out of respect for the noble men of the past). For the qualities which they shared amongst them, as if by agreement were all found together and firmly established in my brother. It is therefore right to compare one man's virtue with the virtue of so many, such diverse and such great men. For if it is considered a great achievement for the son of Alcmene to have struggled with two[144], then how great a man was your Despot since he competed with so many and such powerful forces. We shall not concede the first place to those who have been universally admired in the past, be they barbarians or Greeks; indeed not even to the best of them or to anyone at all.

Yet when I shower such lavish praise upon my brother (or for that matter on myself, if you like, since indeed as far as was possible we were one in success, in misfortune, in contentment, in sorrow, in victory, in defeat and in every situation or circumstance which could further unite and bind together our genuine fraternal feelings, indestructible in themselves, so that they appeared stronger and more united than before) I shall not seem to boast, nor shall I cause anybody to be suspicious that my attitude is improper, for I have only spoken the well-known truth. This is why I was not afraid to make comparisons nor indeed shall I ever be so. And this with good reason which I shall demonstrate at once. Because of our reverence for the prophets and because of the great number of the examples we shall pass over all those men who drove the chariot of Israel and shall compare his achievements with the deeds of those we have already mentioned: Cyrus[145], Alexander[146], Pyrrhus the Epirot — a distinguished

---

144. Hercules who strangled the two serpents in his craddle; Pindar, *Nemean* I, 33(50)ff.; Theocritus, XXIV, 1-33; Diodorus Siculus, IV.10.1; Pausanias, I.24.2; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke*, II.4.8. Probably with this story in mind Manuel altered the well known proverb 'even Hercules is not a match for two' which refers to the hero's struggle against the Hydra and the huge crab Hera sent to help it. On that occasion Hercules was assisted by Iolaus.

ἀναφανέντα ἢ εἴπερ ἦν ἐκείνους ὁρῶν τοὺς ζῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν ἄλλων λαμβάνοντας. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ πολλοὺς ἔχων τοὺς ἁμιλλωμένους αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν, ἀμβλύτερός πως καθίσταται πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ δόξης· καὶ τὸ σπανιώτερον ἀγαθὸν θαυμαστότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁπάντων.

Ἐκ δὴ τῶνδε τῶν λογισμῶν ἐκεῖνο δήπου καὶ συμπερᾶναι δίκαιον οἶμαι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐκείνων ἐλάττων οὐδέ γε δεύτερος δόξειεν ἄν (εἰρήσθω γάρ μοι τὸ μετριώτερον αἰδοῖ τῶν πάλαι γενναιοτάτων) ὁ τούτοις ἤδη παραβαλλόμενος. Ἃ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις μεμερισμένως, ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ συναίμῳ ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος συνέδραμέ τε καὶ ἵδρυτο. Οἷον δὲ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρὸς πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων καὶ τοιούτων παραβάλλεσθαι, ὅταν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης, ὡς ὁ λόγος, οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι, πηλίκον σοι δείκνυσι τὸν δεσπότην τὸ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἁμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ τηλικούτους! Οὐ δὴ παραχωρήσομεν τῶν πρωτείων τοῖς πάλαι παρὰ πάντων θαυμαζομένοις, οὔτε βαρβάροις οὔθ' Ἕλλησιν, οὔμενουν οὐδὲ τῷ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστῳ οὐδ' ὁτῳδήτινι τῶν ἁπάντων.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀδελφοῦ τοσαύταις χρώμενος ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς (ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἐὰν ᾖ τινι βουλομένῳ, ἐπείπερ ἓν ὅσον ἐξῆν ἀκριβῶς ἦμεν ἐν εὐπραγίαις, ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἐν εὐθυμίαις, ἐν λύπαις, ἐν νίκαις, ἐν ἥτταις, ἐν πάσῃ τύχῃ καὶ ὅσα γε τὴν
f.38 ἀδελφῶν| γνησιότητα, ἄρρηκτον οὖσαν τὸ καθ' αὑτήν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἑνοῦν τε καὶ συνδεῖν πέφυκεν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ ἑαυτῆς ἑνικωτέραν τε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν φαίνεσθαι) οὔτ' ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δόξω, οὔθ' ὑποψίαν παρέξομαι ἔξω τοῦ προσήκοντος φέρεσθαι, ἀληθῆ καὶ γνώριμα λέγων. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς συγκρίσεις οὔθ' ἡγησάμην φοβητέας εἶναι ῥηθῆναι, οὔτε μὴν ἡγήσομαι. Ὡς δὲ εὐλόγως, αὐτίκα δείξω. Πλὴν καὶ προφητείας αἰδοῖ καὶ πλήθους ἕνεκα τῶν σημείων παραδραμοῦμαι ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἅρμα ἤλαυνον· διαμνημονεύσω δὲ αὖ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐκείνοις Κῦρον, Ἀλέξανδρον, Πύρρον

---

13. cf. Platonem, *Phaedo* 89c; *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 43, 206.

3-4. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 4-5. γνωμικὸν mg. PV: om. WVa.

---

145. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia.*
146. Arrian, *Anabasis;* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander.*

man[147] — Agesilaus who had reigned here and by his deeds proved himself to be a great man and was rightly called 'the Great'[148]. And then there were those men who achieved great things both in Rome and in every part of the world and who were born of noble parents and by truly attaining virtue bequeathed an unfading and ever-green memory. Yet when they achieved all this they possessed a robust body which was able to serve the dictates of their will both in thought and in action. He, on the contrary, achieved his marvellous deeds not only when he enjoyed sound health but also afterwards when a pernicious disease had made its appearance and swiftly and severely attacked the whole body, constantly raging so that shortly after — how can I bear to tell it — he was confined to his bed. We must consider precisely how far and to what extent his confinement to a sick bed for such a long time with a disease which like a hound attacked all his limbs while he went on with every day life as if there was nothing to hinder him, constitutes a proof of his bravery and noble spirit. Generally it is considered a great thing for a man to be courageous, but when a multitude of external disasters befall on him while his body within rebels then you would be amazed if he prevailed over one or the other, let alone over both afflictions.

Indeed in my opinion it has been proved that he is not inferior to Hercules if the latter's achievements be not simply myths. For though Hercules performed many and great labours which are commemorated throughout the world he did this when he was strong and healthy and not, like my brother, reduced to old age and fighting a disease which was worse than the Hydra. But what was worse by far was that he who is now being compared to Hercules though he had many friends like Iolaus[149], he had none to give him a hand in his struggle. Why? Because, given the circumstances, this was not possible. For how could a man share in my brother's illness simply because he desired to and even if one could induce this at will, how could be possible by falling ill to deliver him of his illness or relieve him at least for awhile?

And therefore since he had proved himself to be such an

147. Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus.*

148. Xenophon, *Hellenica;* Idem, *Agesilaus;* Plutarch, *Life of Agesilaus.*

149. His comrade and charioteer who shared in his labours: Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke,* II.5.2.

᾿Ηπειρώτην, οὐ γὰρ σμικρός, ᾿Αγησίλαον, ὃς ἐνταυθοῖ βεβασίλευκε καὶ μέγας τοῖς ἔργοις φανείς, Μέγας δικαίως καὶ προσηγόρευται. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἐν ῾Ρώμῃ κατωρθωκότες μεγάλα καὶ ὁπουδήποτε γῆς ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γεγονότες τῷ γνησίως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, κατὰ τὰ ἀειθαλῆ τῶν φυτῶν ὥσπερ ἀμαράντινον τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἡμῖν καταλελοίπασι μνήμην. ᾿Επράττετο δ᾿ οὖν ἐκείνοις πάντα, τοῦ σώματος εὖ ἔχοντος καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν δυναμένου τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς βουλήμασι καὶ κινήμασιν. ᾿Εκείνῳ δὲ ἠνύετο τὰ θαυμαστὰ πράγματα οὐχ ὅθ᾿ ὑπῆρχεν εὖ ἔχων τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν κάκιστ᾿ ἀπολουμένην νόσον, ἥτις ἅμα τῷ φανῆναι δεινῶς παντὶ τῷ σώματι κατασκήψασα καὶ τοῦτο πυκνὰ κατατρέχουσα μετ᾿ οὐ πολύν τινα χρόνον (ὢ πῶς ἂν φέροιμι λέγων) κλίνην οἰκεῖν ἔδωκε. Χρὴ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἀκριβῶς ὅσον τε καὶ οἷόν ἐστιν εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρίας καὶ γενναιότητος τὸ νόσῳ μὲν δεδέσθαι τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ σπαραττούσῃ κυνηδὸν ἅπαν μέλος, πράττειν δὲ τὰ εἰωθότα, ὥσπερ μηδενὸς ὄντος
f.38v αὐτῷ τοῦ κωλύματος. Μέγα μὲν γὰρ ἁπλῶς γενναῖος ἅπας ἀνήρ· | ὅταν δὲ θύραθεν αὐτῷ δεινῶν πολλῶν ἐπελθόντων καὶ τἄνδον ἐπαναστῇ, ὁ δὴ τοιοῦτος ἐκπλήξει σε, κἂν θατέρου περιγένηται μέρους, μή τοι γε καὶ ἀμφοῖν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ῾Ηρακλέους ἐλάττω, εἴ γε μὴ μῦθος τὰ κατ᾿ αὐτόν, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον οἶμαι δεδεῖχθαι. Πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄθλους διήνυσε καὶ τοιούτους, οἵους πανταχῇ γῆς ὑμνεῖσθαι, πλὴν εὐσωματῶν καὶ σφριγῶν, ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐν γήρᾳ κατηντηκὼς καὶ πρὸς νόσον ἀποδυσάμενος, ὥσπερ οὗτος, πολὺ καὶ ῞Υδρας χαλεπωτέραν. Καὶ τὸ πολλῷ δεινότερον, ὅτι περ πολλοὺς ᾿Ιόλεως ἔχων ὁ τουτῳὶ τῷ ῾Ηρακλεῖ παραβαλλόμενος νῦν, οὐδένα τέως ἔσχε τὸν συναθλήσαντα. Διατί; ῞Οτι περ οὐχ οἷόν τ᾿ ἦν αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ πράγματος. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου μερίτης θέλων ἐγένετό τις ἢ πῶς ἂν εἶχε νοσήσας, εἰ δὴ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦτο παρείπετο, τοῦτον ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς νόσου ἢ γοῦν πρὸς ὥραν παραμυθήσασθαι;

Τοιοῦτος τοίνυν ἀναφανεὶς ἐθαυμάζετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁπάντων,

4-5. Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 5. 23. cf Aristophanem, *Nubes* 799. 25. Plato, *Phaedo* 89c; Scholia in Plat. (Teubner) v. 6, p. 233.

---

p. 219,*30*-2. ᾿Αλέξανδρον, ᾿Αγησίλαον — Πύρρον ᾿Ηπειρώτην οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸς PVVa: per. s.s. α´β´γ´ em. ᾿Αλέξανδρον, Πύρρον — προσηγόρευται PV: W | 16. γνωμικὸν mg. codd.

outstanding man, he was admired by all as the flower of his race, or if you like, of the human race, for he himself had performed such wonderful deeds as never before. Naturally. Those who knew his nature were astonished that he had become such a great man. The fact that he was better than others and had surpassed one man in this, another man in that, and, in short, all of them to some extent, should not in my opinion astonish one. To carry out one's allotted task is not a cause for astonishment to onlookers. Surely it is not right that those who knew his lineage, his parents, his upbringing, his actions, his pursuits as he grew up, should be amazed at his wonderful deeds. For he combined all virtues together with great goodness of heart and zeal to overcome difficulties, qualities he had inherited, not only from his mother and from her parents, whom she had excelled though they were the best of men[150], but also from my father and his forefathers. And it was indeed fitting that he should surpass their virtue and should not appear in any way inferior to the manly and noble spirit of my father, who also in his turn had outshone his parents who were no less illustrious in virtue or dignity adorned with the purple, the crown and the sceptre[151]. He also far surpassed all who are admired for their endurance until, alas, as if envious of the good fortune of the Romans, disease attacked his entire body and waged unceasing war with him (as indeed it fought you his child)[152] until old age and death.

At this point of my oration I will stop speaking about his deeds, not for lack of material but because time is running short and I am compelled to proceed to our lamentation and to relate in detail such things as will fill us with tears. For I am about to tell you of the painful symptoms brought about by the disease which became a companion to the greatly mourned one as soon as he had passed, so to speak, from youth to mature age. This disease, o dearest one, having consumed you for a long time showed you to be superior to those great trophies you set up at the expense of your enemies who thought that they would

---

150. John VI Cantacuzenus and Irene Asanina. See Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 35-107.

151. Andronicus III Palaeologus and Anna of Savoy. See A. T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453*, Munich 1938, p. 43.

152. This is addressed to Theodore II, Manuel's son, who succeeded his uncle to the government of Mistra and was actually present in the memorial service, see above p. 29 n. 6.

φιλοτιμία τοῦ γένους ὤν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως, ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς δὲ πράττων τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἃ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος. Εἰκότως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι, μέγα καὶ οἷον ἔκπληξιν παρασχέσθαι τοῖς πεπειραμένοις αὐτοῦ τῆς φύσεως, τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναφανέντα τὸν δεῖνα μὲν ἐν τῷδε παρενεγκεῖν, τὸν δεῖνα δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ καὶ ὅλως γε τοὺς πάντας ἐν μέρει, οὐ δίκαιον οἶμαι θαυμάζειν· τὸ γὰρ τὰ αὐτοῦ τινα πράττειν οὐ δίδωσιν ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ὁρῶντας. Οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐκεῖνον θαυμάζειν θαυμαστὰ διαπραττόμενον ἔργα, τοὺς καλῶς ἐπισταμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος καὶ ὅθεν ἔφυ καὶ ὅπως ἐτράφη, τίνα τε δρῶν καὶ μεταχειρίζων τὰς ἡλικίας καλῶς ἤμειψεν. Ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ καλὰ πάντα συνειλοχότα εὐφυίᾳ τε μεγίστῃ καὶ σπουδῇ πόνους νικώσῃ, οὐ μόνον γε τὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν ἐκείνην ἐνεγκαμένων,|
f.39 οὓς ἀρίστους ὄντας ἥδε παρήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ὧν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος κατήγετο, μηδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολειφθῆναι, μηδὲ φανῆναι κατά τι δεύτερον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδρίας καὶ γενναιότητος, ὃς ἀπέκρυψε μὲν γονέας λαμπροὺς οὐχ ἧττον τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα, ὅπερ ἁλουργὶς ἐκόσμει καὶ διάδημα καὶ σκῆπτρον· πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ καρτερίᾳ θαυμαζομένους μετὰ πολλῆς περιουσίας ὑπερήλασεν, ἡνίκα, φεῦ, ἡ νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς πᾶν ἐκείνου τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τις ἄληκτος παλαιστής (ὡς δὴ καὶ σοὶ τῷ ᾽κείνου παιδί) ἄχρι καὶ γήρως καὶ τελευτῆς, τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐδαιμονίᾳ ὥσπερ φθονήσασα.

Ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου γενόμενος παύσομαι λέγων τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις, οὐχ ὅτι λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι χρόνον οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν οὐδὲ καιρόν, ἐπὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος μεταβῆναι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα διεξιέναι, οἷς καὶ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ὑμᾶς πολλῶν ἐμπλήσω δακρύων. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ δυσχερέστερα λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὧν τῷ νῦν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν θρηνουμένῳ πειραθῆναι προὐξένησεν ἡ σύντροφος αὐτῷ γεγενημένη νόσος, τὴν τῶν νεανίσκων ἡλικίαν εὐθύς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀμείψαντι. Αὕτη σε, ὦ φίλτατε, πολλῷ θαυμασιώτερον ἔδειξε μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ καταναλώσασα, ἢ τὰ μεγάλα τρόπαια, ἅ σοι λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν

---

11. cf. Aristotelem, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1114^{b} 9-12.

---

5. γε PVW: om. Va | 6-7 γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 27. δυσχερέστερα PVW: δυσχερέστατα Va.

defeat you very easily for they did not know that virtue is more potent than iron and a great host of men. More than your family, your dignity, the great charm of your physical appearance and the multitude of your good deeds (all these renowned throughout the whole world) it was this disease which made you more famous. And if I may be forgiven for saying so, this disease proved you more enduring than Job who was truly blessed for the endurance which he displayed above all when his whole body was dreadfully ravaged, a man who to begin with was admired for his excessive wealth and for his deeds and then later lost his wealth and suffered misfortunes in a courageous spirit as no other man had done[153]. Sitting on a dunghill Job ran the bitter and long course of life as if he were made not of flesh, but as if he were a picture depicted in colours, or a statue made of bronze or iron or steel which, as it is most fittingly said, because it was fashioned in human form was then claimed as a human being. As a result of his sufferings he shone better than his infinite beneficence and his other good deeds and with the radiance of his soul he was more radiant than all gold and showed sparkling and precious stones to be of no worth.

As the occasion has arisen let me say this about him. It was good that it was granted to God-inspired men to speak about Job as one who was made of steel, admiring him for his endurance which was beyond that of all courageous men who have ever existed. Indeed you too, most excellent man, deserved the good fortune of having your deeds described by eloquence which would do justice to their high nobility. As it is, you are now at a disadvantage compared to Job, since you only have my feeble and terrestial tongue to praise you while he has a heavenly and a powerful one. But the divinely inspired eulogisers of Job would praise you before God while the angels applaud and the assembly of the blessed ones shakes in its foundations. For our part let us praise you in a different way. We desired to show what kind of a man you were in character and in patient endurance but we were unable to attain our goal in describing your qualities and moreover we have come nowhere near this, or at least we have to some extent fallen short of this. Yet we have clung to our aim by comparing you with Job, the symbol of endurance – for there is no envy among virtuous men.

---

153. Job 1: 1-4, 7-8; 2: 7-12; 6: 12.

ἕστηκεν, οἰομένων σου κρατήσειν πάνυ ῥᾳδίως, ἅτε μὴ καλῶς εἰδότων ὅσον ἀρετὴ σιδήρου καὶ πολυχειρίας ἐστὶ καλλίων. Αὕτη σε λαμπρότερον ἔφηνεν ἢ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἡ ἐπανθοῦσα τῷ σώματι χάρις καὶ τὸ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν πλῆθος, ἃ πανταχοῦ γῆς ὕμνηται· εἰ δὲ συγχωροίμεθα λέγειν, καὶ Ἰὼβ ἐκείνου καρτερικώτερον, τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς μακαρίου δι' ὑπομονὴν γεγονότος, ἣν ὑπὲρ f.39v πάντας | ἐπεδείξατο κατατμηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα δεινῶς ἅπαν· ὃς ἐθαυμάζετο μὲν τὸ πρῶτον διὰ πλοῦτον ὑπερβάλλοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον μετέπειτα τοῦτον ἀποβαλὼν καὶ συμφορὰς ὑποστὰς ἀνδρείως ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος. Ἐπὶ γὰρ κοπρίας καθήμενος τὸν πικρὸν μὲν πολλαχόθεν, μακρὸν δὲ δίαυλον ἤνυσεν, ὥσπερ οὐ σῶμα φορῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν χρώμασι γεγραμμένος, ἢ χαλκοῦς ἢ σιδηροῦς ἤ τις ἀδαμάντινος ἀνδριάς, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει λέγειν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ εἶδος ἐπιγραφόμενος ἄνθρωπος. Ἔλαμψε μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἄμεινον ἢ τῆς μυρίας εὐποιΐας ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, τῇ δ' ἀστραπῇ τῆς ψυχῆς χρυσὸν μὲν ἔσβεσε πάντα, λίθους δὲ τοὺς διαυγεῖς καὶ τιμίους οὐδὲν ὄντας ἔδειξε.

Ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ παρήκοντος εἰρήσθω περὶ αὐτοῦ. Προὔργου δὲ τοῖς θεολήπτοις ἐξεγένετο λέγειν, οἳ καὶ σιδηροῦν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἐπὶ καρτερίᾳ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πώποτε γεγενημένους ἀνδρείους. Ἔδει γε καὶ σέ, πάντων ἄριστε, τῆς ἐκείνων εὐμοιρεῖν ἤδη γλώττης, καὶ τότ' ἂν πάντως καλῶς ἐφάνη τὸ κατὰ σέ, ὡς νῦν γε ὑπ' ἐκείνου πλεονεκτῇ, γλῶτταν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐγκωμιάζουσαν ἔχων ἀσθενῆ καὶ γήϊνον, ἐκείνου τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ἔχοντος. Ἀλλ' οὗτοι μέν σε ἐπαινέσονται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, κροτούντων μὲν τῶν ἀγγέλων, σειομένου δὲ τοῦ τῶν μακαρίων θεάτρου, παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἔστω σοι τοῦτ' ἐγκώμιον τρόπον ἕτερον, ὅτι σφόδρα σε βουλόμενοι δεῖξαι ὅστις ποτ' ἦσθα τοὺς τρόπους τε καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν, οὐ μόνον οὐ δυνάμεθα τῶν σῶν καλῶν ἐφικέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγγύς που γενέσθαι ἢ γοῦν μετρίως λειφθῆναι. Ἐχώμεθα δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ, σὲ τῷ f.40 τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἀγάλματι παραθέντες· οὐδὲ | γὰρ φθόνος ἐν ἀγαθοῖς.

---

5. Iob 1.1-4,7-8; 2.7-12; 6.12.

You too did not utter a word of complaint in gour misery. But why do I use the word 'complaint' when in fact you expressed gratitude to the Being who allowed this disease to attack you. If it were not that I might risk appearing to be deranged from love for you, I would have strongly maintained that Providence enabled you to perceive with greater clarity than Job the favour which had been granted you. For your devoutness was extraordinary. And when your limbs were stricken — how can I even speak of this — and your joints disabled you showed yourself stronger than a statue even though your body made of earthly substance was unable to hold out against suffering and was wasting away. Yet against its will it yielded, while your soul beyond any constraint remained unharmed by the disease. How could this be? On the contrary your soul shone more brilliantly like gold when exposed to the fire, for though it did not suffer willingly it readily and with deep gratitude endured this misfortune. For the man who suffers through no fault of his own, but willingly bears misfortunes because of his devoutness, will receive a truly great reward, more so than the man who willingly endures misfortunes which he has incurred through his own fault. Such evils were inflicted on you and the damage was to your very limbs. While the thrice great and truly blessed Job in no way experienced the incapacity of his limbs, nor did any of his limbs continue to be useless as a result of the wasting away brought about by the disease, although his entire body was being consumed by swarms of worms and teeming wounds. Nor did you struggle against lighter pains like those which wasted his body but, dearest one, for a long time you endured them better than did that wonderful man. Moreover your pains were increased, since you had to take charge of public affairs which at that moment were experiencing their greatest misfortune — a situation which did not confront that illustrious man Job. So that, as I have said, you were even stronger than a statue, or rather one might say that a statue does not suffer any evil either great or small. For how could it, since it is devoid of any sensation. Having been brought up royally you passed through the various stages of your life and endured the sufferings brought about by the disease as none other, I think,

῾Ρῆμα μὲν οὖν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς προΐεσο γογγυσμὸν ἔχον. Καὶ τί φημι γογγυσμόν; ὁπότε δὴ καὶ χάριτας ὅ τι πλείστας ἀνωμολόγεις τῷ συγχωρήσαντι τὴν νόσον ἐνσκῆψαι. Καὶ εἰ μὴ δοκοίην παραφρονεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ μανικῶς ἔχειν, ἰσχυρισαίμην ἄν σε καθαρώτερον ἐκείνου τἀνδρὸς εἰδέναι χάριτας τῇ προνοίᾳ. Πολὺ γὰρ ἦν τὸ εὐσεβὲς ὑπερφυῶς παρὰ σοί· τῶν δὲ μελῶν σου νενεκρωμένων, πῶς δ᾽ ἂν ὑποσταίην τὸν λόγον, καὶ τῶν ἄρθρων βεβλαμμένων, ἀνδριάντος ἰσχυρότερος ἀνεφάνης, εἰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὴ δυνάμενον ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ ἀνηλίσκετο ἐκ χοὸς τὴν σύστασιν ἔχον. ᾽Εκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἄκον ἡττώμενον ἦν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἵα τε βιασθῆναι, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου παρεβλάπτετο. Πόθεν; ἥτις γε καὶ λαμπροτέρα καθίστατο χρυσοῦ τινος δίκην προσομιλοῦντος πυρί, ἑκοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔπασχεν, ἑκοῦσα δ᾽ ἔφερε τὰ δεινὰ μεθ᾽ ὅσης γε τῆς εὐχαριστίας. Τὸ δ᾽ ἄκοντα μέν τινα πάσχειν, ἑκόντα δὲ φέρειν δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐλάττους οἴσει μισθοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζους ἀτεχνῶς ἢ εἴ τις γνώμῃ καὶ ἑκοντὶ κακῶν ὑπήνεγκε συμφοράν. Σοὶ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐπέθετο, καὶ ἡ ζημία αὐτὰ τὰ μέλη. ᾽Εκεῖνος δ᾽ ὁ τρισμέγιστος καὶ μακάριος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ἀφαιρέσεως μελῶν οὐδαμῶς πεπείραται, οὐδέ τι τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους μαρασμὸν ὑποστὰν ἐν ἀχρηστίᾳ διέμεινεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν αὐτῷ διεβέβρωτο τῷ τῶν σκωλήκων ἑσμῷ καὶ τῇ πυκνότητι τῶν πληγῶν. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ κουφοτέραις ὀδύναις τῶν καταναλωκυιῶν τὸ ᾽κείνου σῶμα αὐτός που προσεπάλαιες, φίλτατε, ἐπὶ μακρῷ δὲ ταύτας διήνεγκας ἥπερ ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτό σοι τὰς ὀδύνας μείζους ἐποίει, ὅτι περ ἔδει φροντίζειν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀξυτάτῳ τῶν δεινῶν, ὅπερ οὐ προσῆν ἐκείνῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ. Ὥστε σὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντος f.40v ἰσχυρότερος, ὅπερ εἶπον, | μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς οὐδέν, οὐ μέγα, οὐ σμικρὸν φέρειν ἄν ποτε λέγοιτο· πόθεν ὁ μηδὲν αἰσθανόμενος; Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐτράφης βασιλικῶς καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας οὕτω παρήμειψας, τοσοῦτον δὲ πράως ὑπήνεγκας τὰς κακοπαθείας τὰς ἐκ τῆς νόσου, ὅσον οὐδ᾽ ἂν

---

11. λαμπροτέρα PWVa: λαμπρὰ V | 15. ὅπως (p. seq. lac.) PW: ὅπως οὐκ VVa | 19-20 οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἀχρηστίᾳ διέμενέ τι τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους μαρασμὸν ὑπομεῖναν PVWVa: mg. *γρ.* οὐδέ τι τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους μαρασμὸν ὑπομεῖναν ἐν ἀχρηστίᾳ διέμενεν P: (mutilata) V | 19. ὑπομεῖναν PVWVa: mg. *γρ.* ὑποστὰν P | 23. μακρῷ PVW: μακρότερον Va | 24. τὰς ὀδύνας μείζους PVW: μείζους τὰς ὀδύνας Va.

could have done. For you believed that it was best that being mortal you should endure nobly what falls to mortal lot.

Moreover in everything you did you showed yourself to be of manly spirit and when your limbs were paralyzed you proved yourself to be by far more courageous and more capable of endurance. For if you were most dexterous in the use of arms when you enjoyed good health and your legs were almost fleeter than deer — in this you are not alone; but to endure the loss of your faculties in the way you did, without ever permitting yourself to let fall a bitter word — in this you are quite unique and none of those men commemorated for their powers of endurance can claim a share in this. Moreover even when the disease in its madness and ravings, so to speak, attacked and abused you, when the intensity of the pain was at its height you bore it as no flesh could have born it. And instead of weeping and moaning and being disillusioned with life and cursing at bad fortune and shutting yourself in a darkened room and covering yourself in bed to wail aloud (a thing which anybody would have done even when he was fighting against less acute pain) you kept your doors open to all and went on doing those things which would have made even a healthy man ill. And what was more impressive, not only did you occupy yourself with the most urgent and important matters, but also with things that any other man might have dealt with at your request, so assiduous were you towards everyone. But you went even further. For though you did not deign to spend your time on trivialities for the sake of more trivial men, yet later on feeling that you had neglected them, you did put up with them to a certain extent, fearing lest you had overlooked them and bearing in mind that even the smallest things are of importance to those who need them. For this reason you did not send away those who needed any kind of help until you had sufficiently assisted them. Meanwhile you ignored perhaps your food, warded off sleep from your eyes, and completely despised everything to do with your body just as if you were healthy and vigorous and able to move and fight for the highest cause.

What was amazing is that even when your physicians proclaimed that you were clearly warring against yourself and that you were rejecting as of secondary consideration anything that might assist the

εἷς, οἶμαι, τῶν πάντων. Ὤου γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι φέρειν γενναίως θνητὸν ὄντα τὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐπερχόμενα.

Ἀνδρεῖος τοίνυν ἀναδειχθεὶς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔπραξας, τῇ παρέσει τῶν μελῶν ἀνδρειότερος ἐφάνης πολλῷ τῷ μέσῳ καὶ καρτερικώτερος. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μετεχείριζέ σοι τὼ χεῖρε δεξιῶς ἄγαν εὐσωματοῦντι, καὶ τὼ πόδε ἡμιλλᾶτο ταῖς ἐλάφοις μικροῦ δεῖν τῇ ταχυτῆτι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴη οὐ σά γε μόνον, τὸ δὲ τούτων τὴν ζημίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔφερες, μηδὲ γοῦν πικρόν τι ῥῆμα καταδεξάμενος ὅλως προέσθαι, σὸν ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καρτερεῖν ὑμνουμένων. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ ἐπηρείαις τῆς νόσου, μαινομένης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ λυττώσης, ὁπότε δὴ τὸ δεινὸν τῶν ὀδυνῶν ἤκμαζεν, ὥσπερ οὐ σάρκα φορῶν ἔφερες. Ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ κλάειν καὶ βοᾶν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν τῇ ζωῇ καὶ καταρᾶσθαι τῇ τύχῃ καὶ καθεῖρξαι σαυτὸν ἐν σκοτεινῷ δωματίῳ καὶ ἐγκαλυπτόμενον δεμνίοις οἰμώττειν (ὅ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔπαθε καὶ πολὺ τῶν σῶν κουφοτέραις προσπαλαίων ὀδύναις;), αὐτός γε πᾶσιν εἶχες τὰς θύρας ἀνεῳγμένας καὶ διέμενες ποιῶν ἃ κἂν ὑγιαίνοντι προὐξένησέ τινα νόσον. Καὶ τὸ τούτου πολὺ μεῖζον, οὐ μόνον γὰρ περὶ τὰ κατεπείγοντα καὶ μεγάλα ἠσχολοῦ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα ἃ κἂν ἕτερος διώρθου τοὐνδόσιμον λαβὼν παρὰ σοῦ· οὕτω σὺ σπουδαῖος ἐν ἅπασι. Τὸ δὲ πολλὴν ποιοῦν τὴν ὑπερβολήν, οὐ γὰρ κατεδέχου μὲν τοῖς εὐτελέσι πράγμασι σεαυτὸν ἐκδιδόναι ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐτελεστέρων ἀνθρώπων, ἠνέσχου δέ τι μετέπειτ' ὀλιγωρήσας ἐλλιπῶς πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὅτι
f.41 καὶ τὰ πάνυ σμικρὰ | τοῖς χρῄζουσί γε μεγάλα, οὐκ ἐξέπεμπες τοὺς βοηθείας ἡστινοσοῦν δεομένους πρὸ τοῦ παρασχεῖν ἐκείνοις ὅσα δὴ νομίζοιτο πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν ἐξαρκέσειν, ἀμελῶν μέν που σιτίων, ὕπνον δὲ ἀποσοβῶν τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ ὅλως τῶν τοῦ σώματος πάντων καταφρονῶν, ὥσπερ ὑγιαίνων καὶ σφριγῶν καὶ δυνάμενος ἅλλεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάνυ μεγίστων ἀγωνιζόμενος.

Ὃ δὲ παρεῖχεν ἐκπλήττεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν βοώντων ὡς σεαυτῷ σαφῶς πολεμεῖς, μὴ πάντα δεύτερα τιθέμενος τῶν βοηθοῦν-

---

2. τοῖς PVW: om. Va. | 10. ἐπιφοραῖς PWVa: συμφοραῖς V | 15. ὅ πᾶς τίς ἂν PVW: mg. *γρ.* ὅ τίς οὐκ ἂν P (mutil.) V: Va.

body, you were no less active[154]. For you preferred to lend an attentive ear to an injured man rather than to those who advised you in matters of your health. While you fought for justice you rejected the helping hands of medicine, for you believed — and rightly so — that your action was beneficial to your soul which you claimed must not be subordinated to the needs of your body. For that reason amid the greatest misfortunes you were unconquerable, nor did you allow your better part to be in any way dominated by the inferior. Your willingness to act and your innate goodwill, ignoring the physical disease to which your body being composite and mortal by necessity gave away, showed you, the champion, to be a steadfast man whose soul was made of steel, his strength of iron. And if indeed your illness were taken into account one would feel a great admiration for your courage, for you bore the unbearable, just as if somebody else were suffering it, or as if it were a dream you were dreaming.

A great number of your friends surrounded you and with their hands cared for your diseased body and performed the tasks of which your suffering limbs were no longer capable. And the very moment they felt the intensity of your suffering (for you never showed any sign of this since you knew that you would grieve exceedingly those who loved you) they were unable to perform the necessary tasks without tears, but smote their breasts with their hands and flooded the floor with their profuse weeping. All this was done in silence for they were unwilling to cause you distress, which you would have felt had you perceived that they grieved for you. For it is natural for friends to rejoice when their friends are rejoicing, and to grieve together with them when they are in distress. But because nothing escaped your notice (how could it be?) you did not give yourself any respite until you had dismissed them in a cheerful frame of mind. For you thought it was dreadful, dreadful, that while you suffered from this disease they should share in your suffering simply because they loved you, and you felt that you, who were extremely fond of them, could not allow them

---

154. Theodore had been seriously ill since the beginning of 1403 when Manuel, on his way back from Europe, decided to visit the Peloponnese because *frater suus dominus despotus est infirmus, ut dictum dominium non perveniret ad manus alienas:* 1403.II.26, Secreti I, f.88^{v}. That despite his illness Theodore tried to rule his country with his old energy and dedication is confirmed by the fact that he even misled the Venetians into thinking that he was feigning illness. When the Despot was on his death-bed and reported *occasione, ut dicunt, sui magne infirmitatis quam dictus*

των τῷ σώματι, αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐνεργὸς ἦσθα· ὑπεῖχες γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις μᾶλλον τὰ ὦτα ἢ τοῖς παραινοῦσι πρὸς ὑγίειαν. Ἔρριψάς που καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ὀνησούσας ἰατρείας, ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἀγωνιζόμενος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνόμιζες, ὀρθῶς διανοούμενος, ἀλεξιτήριον φάρμακον γίνεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἣν οὐκ ἠξίους παραβλάπτεσθαι τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα. Ἦσθα οὖν ἀήττητος ἐν τοῖς δεινοτάτοις καὶ οὐκ εἴας τυραννεῖσθαι τὸ κρεῖττον ὑπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτέρου, ὁ ἀθλητής, ὁ στερρός, ὁ ἀδάμας τὴν ψυχήν, ὁ τὴν ἰσχὺν σιδηροῦς, εἴ τις εἰς τὸ παρὰ σοὶ πρόθυμον ἀφορῴη καὶ τὴν ἔμφυτον προαίρεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας, αἷς ἦν ἀνάγκη τοὖθ' ὑπενδοῦναι σύνθετον ὂν καὶ θνητόν. Μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ καὶ εἰς ταύτας τις ἀφορῴη, ὑπερθαυμάσεταί σε τῆς γενναιότητος· τὰ γὰρ ἀφόρητα ἔφερες, ὥσπερ ἄλλου πάσχοντος ἢ ὄναρ ταῦτα ὁρῶν.

Καὶ μὴν περιιστάμενοί σε πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὧν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐθεραπεύετό σου τὸ σῶμα πάσχον, ἀντὶ τῶν πεπονθότων σοι μελῶν ὑπηρετουμένων, μόλις ποτέ πως αἰσθόμενοι τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν ὀδυνῶν ὅσον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδείκνυς, εἰδὼς λυπήσων σφόδρα· φιλοῦντας) οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν ἀδακρυτὶ τὰ δέονθ' ὑπουργεῖν, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ μὲν
f.41^{v} παίοντες στέρνα,| ἀστακτὶ δὲ δακρύοντες τοὔδαφος ἔβρεχον· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο σιγῇ, μή σε λυπήσωσιν ἄκοντες αἰσθόμενον αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ σοῦ λυπουμένους. Πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ φιλοῦν χαίρειν τε χαιρόντων τῶν φίλων, καὶ ἀνιωμένοις τούτοις συνάχθεσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἐπεί σε ταῦτα οὐκ ἐλάνθανε (πῶς γάρ;) οὐδεμίαν σεαυτῷ παραμυθίαν ἐδίδους, ἕως αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυες σὺν εὐθυμίᾳ. Δεινὸν γὰρ ᾤου, δεινόν, εἰ σοὶ μὲν νόσῳ πάσχοντι οἵδε συναλγήσουσι διὰ τὸ περὶ σὲ μεμηνός, αὐτὸς δὲ τούτους σφόδρα φιλῶν ἐάσεις ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάσχειν. Διὰ ταῦτα,

21-22. γνωμικὸν codd.

dominus despotus patiatur, the Senate's reaction was that the illness *vera sit aut arte*: 1407. V. 24, Misti 47, f.113^{v}.

to suffer for your sake. For this reason, while the unbearable pain continued, somehow you managed to smile calmly with that innate reserve and talked to them with words sweeter than roses, and, insisting that you felt better, you sent them home in high hopes. In this way you continually increased their affection for you as a result of their admiration for your noble spirit and your love for them[155].

Thus your whole life was a struggle in defence of virtue and duty and your light shone before mankind, serving your own people to the highest possible degree, defeating the enemy to the extent to which your deeds testify, though you were ill, suffering so indescribably acutely, you were of such courage that beholders could not but admire you, you who were unceasing and effective in action in defending your own people against your enemies. Thus the man you so deeply loved excelled in every respect.

I know you would never weary of listening to those who point out his greatness, but I can say no more, I can go no further. For when I see the small stretch of earth covering that noble body which enclosed his marvellous soul, I am nearly out of my mind and I know not what to do. I wish to speak but my tongue grows numb, I desire to utter words but as a result of this calamity I have no voice and cannot obey the dictates of my mind, and my powers of speech, vanguished by this distressing event, fail to obey the efforts of my will, and I cannot calm my mind and thoughts. There is nothing left but for you to yearn for him, and as for me, even more than you, I can only dissolve into streams of tears. We are moved all the more by this panegyric in honour of the departed. For when a eulogy shows the dead to be noble men, it kindles our love for them and shows how great is our loss. In proportion to our loss so indeed is our sorrow increased, and that in turn waters our tears. And when these floods of tears flow from one all

155. Throughout this oration there is no mention of Theodore's wife Bartolomea Acciaiuoli. At least out of courtesy one would have expected Manuel to mention her briefly. Nor does Isidore in his description of the commemoration service alludes to her (see above p. 29). It is very possible that she did not survive her husband, though there is no evidence for this. Unlike her sister Francesca (*see* J. Chrysostomides, 'Italian women in Greece in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 2 (1982), 119-32), Bartolomea left very few traces. Hopf II, p. 70 (repeated by Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, p. 166) reports that Manuel II after his brother's death tried to secure money deposited by his widow

τῶν ἀφορήτων σε συνεχουσῶν ὀδυνῶν, ἠρέμα πως αὐτὸς μειδιῶν μετὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου σεμνότητος, ῥήμασιν ἡδίοσι ῥόδων αὐτοὺς ἔπαττες, καὶ ῥᾷον ἔχειν ἰσχυριζόμενος μετὰ χρηστοτέρων ἐλπίδων οἴκαδε πάντας ἐξέπεμπες. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸ περὶ σὲ πάντων φίλτρον διηνεκῶς ἐπεδίδου, θαυμαζόντων σου τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔρωτα.

Οὕτως ὁ βίος σοι πᾶς ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου, καί σου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εὖ ποιοῦντος μὲν τοὺς σούς, ὅσον οὐκ ἂν ἦν βέλτιον, κρατοῦντος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐφάνη, καίτοι κἀν αὐτῷ τῷ νοσεῖν ἔχων μὲν οὕτω δεινῶς ὅσον οὐδ᾽ οἷόν τε φράζειν, ἔχων δὲ οὕτω γενναίως ὅσον τοὺς ὁρῶντας θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διενεργῶν οὐκ ἐπαύου. Οὕτω διὰ πάντων ἄριστος ἦν ὁ διαφερόντως ὑμῖν φιλούμενος.

Κόρος μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐκεῖνον δεικνύντων μέγαν οὐκ ἂν ποθ᾽ ὑμῖν γένοιτο· ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐχ οἷός τε λέγειν ἔτι, οὐδὲ χωρεῖν περαιτέρω. Ὁρῶν γὰρ χῶρον βραχὺν σῶμα γενναῖον καλύπτοντα, ὃ τὴν θαυμασίαν ἐκείνην ψυχὴν ἔφερε, μικροῦ δεῖν ἔξω φρενῶν γίνομαι καὶ οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐμαυτῷ χρήσομαι. Βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ ναρκᾷ μου ἡ γλῶττα. Θέλω φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ φωνή μοι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐχ ὑπουργεῖν δύναται, f.42 ἐκλελοι| πυῖα τῷ πάθει, οὐδ᾽ ὑπακούει τῇ ὁρμῇ τοῦ θελήματος τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ λόγου ὄργανα, ἡττηθέντα τοῦ πιέζοντος, μηδὲ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐν τῇ καταστάσει μενόντων. Ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἔφεσις νῦν ἐστι, καὶ ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον ὑμῶν οὐδὲν ἢ θρῆνοι πολλοί· αἴτιον δὲ τὰ τοῦ οἰχομένου ἐγκώμια. Τὰ γὰρ δεικνύντα τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἀνάπτει μὲν τὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔρωτα, δείκνυσι δὲ τὴν ζημίαν μεγίστην. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ζημίαν αὖξον καὶ τὴν λύπην δήπουθεν· τὸ δ᾽ αὖ τὴν λύπην τοὺς θρήνους. Κἂν οὖν τις παρενέγκῃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς δακρύων, κἂν ὁμοῦ μὲν πάντα τὰ ἄλογα, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἅπαν ἀναίσθητον,

---

28-29. Sophocles, *Antigone* 803; *Trachiniae* 852 et alibi.

4. τοι PWVa: om. V | 25-26. γνωμικὸν PVVa: om. W | 26 μὲν (add) PV: W: deest Va.

Bartolomea in Crete when her busband was still alive. If it were so, this would have been important information since we know nothing about Bartolomea after 1400 (see above p. 165 n. 90). The document however used by Hopf simply says «*quondam domine Basilice amite ... domini imperatoris*»: 1407.XII.8, Misti 47, f.155ᵛ. Presumably Hopf read it as «Basilissa» and ignored the word *amite*.

irrational creatures, the inanimate world, and even the dead in their graves, were it possible, would weep unceasingly with us, and this would not so much add to your sorrow but on the contrary would considerably alleviate it. Surely those souls which are immersed in the waves of sorrow have their readiest consolation in their tears. For it is no terrible thing to weep even though the tears pour from one's eyes, but what is terrible is the gnawing of the soul which drives it to tears, for shedding floods of tears acts as a relief to those overhelmed by misfortune. As I am unable to proceed any further or continue my lament for my brother in a worthy manner, for besides other sufferings my capacity to think has been undermined by this calamity, so it remains for me to ask you to assist me as far as is possible. This would be by expressing what is appropriate to the occasion and to our suffering until I can recover myself and can resume my lamentation for my brother in a befitting manner.

And so then, you who have experienced his beneficence, and undoubtedly all of you have enjoyed this, raise your voices with one heart and one soul as though with one mouth, and clasping the tomb of this man who was as much a father to you as a ruler, proclaim words as befits this sad hour.

The mourners

What is this? Do you command that men who are almost dead should raise their voices?

Orator

As far as it is possible I do say this.

The mourners

If only we can subdue the grief which has already overpowered us we shall obey. Indeed we ought, and it would have been better had we given our life in your place, for truly we are now not really living. For even though we are not yet dead we spend our life daily longing for death and we consider that to leave this world is more desirable than to live, and we pray for our end. There is no one who does not wish to be delivered from this life, but obedience to the laws of piety forbid a man to take his own life. It is impossible now for a man who has tasted your

καὶ οἱ ἐν σοροῖς νεκροί, εἰ οἷόν τε ἦν, μεθ' ἡμῶν θρηνήσωσι, καὶ τοῦτό γε ἀπέραντα, οὐχ ὅπως προσθήκη τῶν ὀδυνῶν τοῦθ' ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καί τινά πως μοῖραν οὐ σμικρὰν τούτων φανεῖται προσαφαιροῦν. Ψυχαῖς γὰρ κύμασι λύπης βεβαπτισμέναις οὐδὲν ἂν δήπουθεν παραμύθιον προχειρότατον ἢ τὸ δακρύειν. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ δακρύειν δεινόν, ὁπόταν δή τις καὶ κρουνοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀφῇ δακρύων, ἀλλὰ τὸ δάκνον τὴν ψυχήν, ὥστε καὶ δάκρυσι χρῆσθαι· τὸ δὲ δακρύειν κρουνηδὸν κουφισμός τις γίνεται τοῖς συμφοραῖς κατακλυζομένοις. Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ δυναμένῳ προβαίνειν ἔτι καὶ μονῳδεῖν ἀξίως τὸν ἀδελφόν (πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεινοῖς ὡσπερεὶ καὶ ἡ διάνοια ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους πεπήρωται) λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπικουρίαν εὑρεῖν ὅση δυνατή. Ἦδ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἅπερ ἂν εἴη προσήκοντα τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῷ πάθει, ἕως ἂν ἀνενεγκόντες τὰ εἰκότα καὶ ἡμεῖς μονῳδήσωμεν.

Ὅσοι τοίνυν τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν ἐν πείρᾳ γεγένησθε, πάντως δὲ ἀπολελαύκατε πάντες, ῥήξατέ μοι μίαν φωνὴν μιᾷ καρδίᾳ, μιᾷ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνός τινος στόματος, καὶ περιπτυξάμενοι ταυτηνὶ τὴν σορὸν τοῦ οὐχ ἧττόν γε πατρὸς ὑμῖν ἢ δεσπότου, τὰ τῷ καιρῷ συμβαίνοντα φθέγξασθε.

Οἱ θρηνοῦντες

f.42v Τί τοῦτο; Στόμα κελεύεις ῥῆξαι φωνὴν | μικροῦ νενεκρωμένων ἀνθρώπων;

Ὁ λέγων

Ὁπόσον οἷόν τε λέγω

Οἱ θρηνοῦντες

Ὑπακουσόμεθα, ἢν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα κρατεῖν τοῦ γε κρατοῦντος ἡμῶν ἤδη πάθους. Ἔδει γε, καὶ βέλτιστον ἦν ἡμῖν, πρὸ σοῦ τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ζῆν. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ τεθνήκαμεν ἤδη, ἀλλὰ τὴν ζωὴν ἀναλίσκομεν ἐν τῷ θανατᾶν ὁσημέραι καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε μετάστασιν ποθεινοτέραν ζωῆς ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν εὔχεσθαι. Πᾶς τις γὰρ ἀπαλλαξείων ἐστὶ τῶν τῇδε, εἰ καὶ μὴ αὑτὸν ἀποσφάττει, νόμους εὐσεβείας φυλάττων. Οὐκ ἔνι βιωτὸν ἀνδρὶ γεγευμένῳ τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν· συχνὸν μὲν

1-2. pr. vers. νεκροὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν — ἀπέραντα εἰ οἷον τε ἦν: sec. vers. νεκροί, εἰ οἷον τε ἦν — ἀπέραντος per. s.s. α'β'γ' P: VWVa | 2. ὅπως (ex. ὅπως οὐ) PW: ὅπως οὐ VVa. 4-5. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 7-9 γνωμικὸν mg. PWVa: om. V | 20. οἱ θρηνοῦντες s.s. al. man. PV: s.s. W: marg. Va | 23. ὁ λέγων s.s. al. man. PV: s.s. W: ὁ βασιλεὺς mg. Va | 25. οἱ θρηνοῦντες s.s. al. man. PV: s.s. W: in textu Va.

goodness to consider his life worth living. For a long time and inceasingly, o Despot, you shared your gifts of fortune with us and with great liberality you distributed these good things to all. You did not entirely satisfy them, nor did you ever cause those who shared in this to become satiated. For this was not possible, far from it. By the will of God you were rich in virtue — the immortal wealth — and those who associate with such men find it impossible not to desire to live with them. And so, you rained on us every blessing and then you departed leaving our thirst unquenched. You gladdened us greatly and by your labours and dangers you made us an object of envy and you achieved this when circumstances were for the most part adverse and while many thought that it would be easy for the gaping jaws to swallow you up together with your subjects. But contrary to their expectations you changed the course of events. The very existence of your deeds proclaims this. But now, o sun and earth, who is able, or who, having suffered your loss, could fittingly lament you, the noblest of men? What man of iron, what man with a soul of steel, would be able to fulfil this sad task?

Woe, woe to the concourse of evils whereby you departed this life alone. For only yesterday the very fact that you were its Despot, its ruler and its saviour, demonstrated the good fortune of the land of Pelops, and then in departing from this earth you suddenly changed its destiny. Thus you did indeed bring to our lives fog instead of brightness, darkness instead of light. You were the cause of all good things, and so when you left us you put the good things to which we were accustomed far beyond our reach. For it would seem that good things flew away with you.

O you who left this land greatly bereaved, whose interest you always put first, not only in times of relaxation, of ease and luxury, but also whenever possible in the most pressing urgencies – and I will also add, in situations where your own safety and life were at risk. Yes indeed, in thus removing yourself from us, you have shown us how we have been cut off from the good. O, we were truly alive when you were with us, but when you died it was as though you turned your subjects into corpses. O you who have caused our eyes to be clouded over as we beheld your sweet, beautiful and bright eyes completely transformed by

χρόνον, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ συνεχῶς τῶν σῶν καλῶν μετεδίδους ἡμῖν καὶ πάντα πᾶσι διένεμες τἀγαθὰ μετὰ δαψιλείας ὅ τι πολλῆς. Οὐ μήν γε πάντως ἐνέπλησας, οὐδ᾽ εἰργάσω πώποτε διακορεῖς τοὺς μετειληχότας· οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν οὐδ᾽ ἐγγύς. Ἐπλούτεις γὰρ παρὰ θεοῦ ἀρετήν, πλοῦτον ἀθάνατον, καὶ τοὺς συνόντας τοῖς γε τοιούτοις οὐκ ἔνι στῆσαι τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν συνουσίας. Ὥστε σὺ μὲν ὗες ἡμῖν ἅπαν ἀγαθόν, διψῶντας δ᾽ οὖν εἴασας ἀπελθών. Πολλὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς εὔφρανας καὶ εἰργάσω ζηλωτοὺς πόνοις σεαυτοῦ καὶ κινδύνοις, καὶ ταῦτά σοι τῆς τύχης ἀντιπιπτούσης ὡς τὰ πολλά, καὶ πολλοῖς γε οἰομένοις ῥᾷστον εἶναι κεχηνόσι καταπιεῖν σε σὺν ἅμα πᾶσιν ὧν ἦρχες, πρὸς τοὐναντίον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῖς μετέστησας· καὶ βοῶσιν αἱ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξεις. Νῦν δέ, ἥλιε καὶ γῆ, ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν οἷός τε γένοιτο τὴν συμφορὰν τραγῳδεῖν ἢ τίς ἀξίως θρηνήσειε σὲ τὸν πάντ᾽ ἄριστον ἐζημιωμένος; τίς σιδηροῦς, τίς ἀδαμαντίνην ἔχων ψυχήν, ὥστε δυνηθῆναι φέρειν διὰ τέλους τὸ λυποῦν;

Αἶ, αἶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν συνδρομῆς τῷ σε τὸν βίον μόνον ἀμεῖψαι. Ὅς γὰρ χθὲς καὶ πρότριτα τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐδείκνυς εὐδαίμονα τῷ ταύτης καὶ δεσπότης καὶ ἡγεμὼν καὶ σωτὴρ εἶναι, πρὸς τοὐναντίον f.43 εὐθὺς| μετέβαλες τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πράγματα ἐνθένδε μεταστάς. Ἀχλὺν μὲν πάντως ἀντὶ φαιδρότητος, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτὸς σκότος ἔμιξας τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τῷδε βίῳ. Καθάπερ γὰρ τῷ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν εἶναι πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν καλῶν πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχες αἴτιος, οὕτως ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγονὼς τῶν εἰωθότων ἀγαθῶν ἐκτὸς ἡμᾶς ἔδειξας· ὡς γὰρ ἔοικε, συναπέπτη σοι τὰ καλά.

Ὢ λιπὼν τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πολλῇ, ἧς τὸ συμφέρον ἀεὶ προὐτίθεις, οὐχ ὅπως ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ ῥᾳστώνης καὶ τρυφῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὅσον ἐνῆν, προσθήσω δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς σῆς καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν οὗ. Ὢ τῷ διεστάναι μόνῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν καλῶν διεστηκότας ἡμᾶς ἀποφήνας. Ὢ ζῶντας μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὁπότε σὺν ἡμῖν ἦσθα, θανὼν δὲ πᾶν τὸ ὑπήκοον ὡσπερεὶ νεκροὺς ἐργασάμενος. Ὢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σκοτώσας, οἵ σου τοὺς ἡδεῖς τε καὶ καλοὺς καὶ γεγανωμένους παντάπασιν ἐνηλλαγμένους ἑωράκασι τῷ

---

16. μόνον PVVa: om. W | 17. τοῦ PWVa: om. V | 31. γεγανωμένους: γεγαννωμένους (ex -ννο-) P: VWVa.

death. O you who suddenly and for a long time caused our ears to be deafened, more than even the sound of thunder could, when we heard of your death. O you who like a violent thunderbolt shook and for long astounded our hearts and bowels. O you who just by the news of your death long extinguished and unceasingly dulled all our bodily feeling and every power of our souls. O that justly hated hour which showed you to be dead, disfigured by death and consumed by your complicated and long drawn out disease. Mindful of your body in its prime, blooming and flourishing, of the brilliance of your good looks and the easy physical grace which possessed every charm, and then in turn recalling that hateful day which surrendered you to death, who would not be found desiring death and utterly hating life? Dear heart, it would have been better for your subjects to be dead rather than to live while looking upon you dead. Or indeed it would have been better for all of them to be buried together with you in the same earth and tomb. For of what avail is it for a man to go on living when he has been deprived of such a blessing. Now we have finished our lamentation, for we are not able to say all that we should, since the blow of your death has penetrated our whole body, and if it is fitting to say so, it gnaws and devours us in such a way that our very soul is destroyed.

[The Orator]

So be it. As for me what shall I do? For evil fate has inflicted injury and the pain is unbearable nor can it be healed as once Achilles healed Telephus[156]. There is a further paradox when the wound is incurable. For this unbearable misfortune on one hand forces me to mourn him deeply and to compose a lamentation for a loss shared by the community as a whole and by myself in particular, and yet on the other hand in a different way it forces me to weep in silence, overcome by numbness and bodily mortification. To be driven towards both goals is to fail to reach either. For to be compelled to move simultaneously in opposite directions must to some extent exclude the possibility of attaining either goal. Thus the torment is complex and beyond other evils. For it greatly blinds one's judgment, disturbs one's thoughts and somehow blurs and confuses the whole mind.

156. By scraping some rust off his spear into Telephus's wound. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III. 20.

κεκαλύφθαι θανάτῳ. Ὦ πᾶσαν ἀκοὴν ἑξῆς τὴν σὴν ἀκούσασαν τελευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἁπάσας τὰς βροντὰς εὐθὺς κωφώσας ἐπὶ μακρῷ. Ὦ καὶ τὰς καρδίας καὶ τἄνδον πάντα δίκην κεραυνῶν ἐξαισίων ἐπὶ χρόνον μήκιστον καὶ κατασείσας καὶ καταπλήξας. Ὦ πάσας μὲν αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, πᾶσαν δὲ δύναμιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ σβέσας ὅλως ἐπὶ πολὺ ἢ διηνεκῶς ἀμβλύνας τῇ φήμῃ μόνῃ τῆς μεταστάσεως. Ὦ δικαίως μισουμένης ὥρας ἐκείνης, ἥτις σε νεκρὸν ἡμῖν ἔδειξεν, ἄμορφον μὲν τῷ θανάτῳ, κατεδηδομένον δὲ τῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ μακρᾷ νόσῳ. Τίς σου τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος ὁπότε ἤνθει καὶ ἔθαλλε, τήν τε ἀστραπὴν τοῦ κάλλους ἐνθυμηθείς, τάς τε ἐν αὐτῷ διακεχυμένας χάριτας ἰύγγων ὅλως μὴ λειπομένας, αὐτίκα δ᾽ αὖθις ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς στυγερᾶς, ἥ σε φθορᾷ παρέδωκεν, εἶτ᾽ οὐ θανατῶν f.43v εὑρε| θήσεται μισήσας ἅπαξ τὸ ζῆν; Ἄμεινον ἄρ᾽ ἦν τεθνάναι τοὺς ὑπὸ σὲ πάντας ἢ ζῶντας, φίλη κεφαλή, σὲ τεθνεῶτα θεάσασθαι, ἢ κατὰ γοῦν δεύτερον πλοῦν ἀθρόους πάντας σὺν σοὶ γῇ τε καὶ τάφῳ δοθῆναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἄνθρωπον ἐστερημένον καλοῦ τοσούτου; Ταῦτα παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἤδη, ἐπεὶ μὴ οἷόν τε λέγειν ὁπόσα χρή, τῆς πληγῆς διικνουμένης δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἢ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτάς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἀναλίσκει δάκνουσά τε καὶ κατεσθίουσα πάντα τρόπον.

[῾Ο λέγων]

Εἶεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τί χρήσωμαι; Τέτρωκε γὰρ ἡ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ τύχη καὶ τὸ ἄλγος ὡς ἀφόρητον· οὐ μὴν ἰάσεταί γε, ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεύς ποτε Τήλεφον. Οὔσης δ᾽ ἀνιάτου τῆς πληγῆς, καὶ τοῦτο πρόσεστιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀνώμαλον. Τὸ γὰρ ἀφόρητον τοῦτο πάθος βιάζεται μὲν τραγῳδεῖν καὶ τοὺς γιγνομένους θρήνους συντιθέναι ὑπὲρ ζημίας μὲν κοινῆς, ζημίας δὲ ἰδίως ἐμοί, ἑτέρῳ δὲ πάλιν τρόπῳ προσαναγκάζει σιγῇ δακρύειν, νάρκην καὶ νέκρωσιν ἐμποιοῦν. Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφότερα συνωθοῦν πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐλθεῖν δίδωσι. Τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τἀναντία κατὰ ταὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι βιαζόμενον τὴν πρὸς ἑκάτερά πως ἄφιξιν εἴργει· οὕτω ποικίλον τὸ τυραννοῦν καὶ κακῶν ἐπέκεινα. Τυφλοῖ γὰρ μάλα τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ ταράττει τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ συγχεῖ πως καὶ κυκᾷ πάντα νοῦν.

---

1. cf. Homerum, *Ilias* 5.553. 15. v. supra p. 191,*24*. 22-23. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III.20.

---

16. δεῖ PVW: δὴ Va | 20. ῾Ο λέγων add. 27-28 γνωμικὸν mg. codd.

But you, a man admired and loved, not only when you were alive, but now that you are dead even more so than before, for when what is good is hidden it becomes the more desirable, how could you bear to see me wronged if there exist any laws of justice? For when you departed for the regions, which indeed all of us will one day reach, you left me behind to follow you later and in so doing you made my life intolerable and utterly beyond all bearing. And yet I too wronged myself in a different way, by not leaving this life before you. For it was fitting and better that I should die before you who were the younger. But you overtook me, would that it had never happened, and I, as it seems, who claimed to be inseparable from you, were proved wrong. Leaving your body on earth you went to God while I still live here. But I should have laid down my body as soon as I received the first message that your spirit had departed, and with my bare and insubstantial soul should have sought out yours, thus overtaking it as swiftly as possible to live with it for ever. Beyond doubt there is indeed convincing proof that in surviving your death I have shown my attachment to my own life and body rather than my true devotion to my brother. I ought in fact to have realised, and indeed I should have known, that this is worse than many deaths. In all reverence I say that this misfortune was decreed by fate, that as well as the many and bitter calamities of the past I should receive from you this mortal and mighty blow. This, it seems, is the price of our sins against which we ought not to protest. So as it has pleased God, by grace our Father and by nature our Lord and Guardian, let us give thanks for all things. On the other hand, let us honour the occasion and misfortune to the best of our power as so far as in us lies.

O unlucky day, the truly unfortunate hour in which you departed, you, most beloved of all, the only brother left to me[157]. For our relatives and friends had already died; our father was also dead, and in addition to all these our most noble mother, and she as everyone knows, was the one remaining soul left in our public and private affairs which nearly collapsed when deprived of her[158]. O how deeply I now

---

157. Andronicus IV died on 28 June 1385 (CBB I, 7 § 20, p. 68; 10 § 4-5, p. 103; II, pp. 330-31). Michael who married the daughter of Dobrotica was murdered by his brother-in-law sometime between September 1376 and August 1377 (CBB I, 22 § 19, p. 182; 29 § 2, p. 214; II, pp. 313-14).

158. She died sometime between October and December 1396, see V. Laurent,

᾿Αλλ᾿ ὦ καὶ θαυμαζόμενε καὶ φιλούμενε, οὐχ ὅπως ὅτε περιῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μεταστάς, καὶ μᾶλλον νῦν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ (τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ κρυβέντα ποθεινότερα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι) τί δή ποτε κανὼν δικαιοσύνης ὑπάρχων ἐμέ πως ὤφθης ἠδικηκώς; Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀπελθὼν ὅπου γε πάντως ἀφιξόμεθα πάντες, ἐμὲ κατόπιν ἐλθεῖν ἀφῆκας, καὶ ταύτῃ μοι τὸν βίον ἀβίωτον καὶ πάντη χαλεπώτατον ἔφηνας. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἠδίκηκα τρόπον ἕτερον, μὴ πρότερόν σου τὸν βίον ἀπολιπών. Ἔδει γὰρ καὶ βέλτιον ἦν ἐμοὶ μὴ σοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου f.44 γενέσθαι δεύτερον πρὸς τὸ| μεταστῆναι τῶν τῇδε. ᾿Αλλ᾿ ἔφθασας γε ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ὤφελε, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀχώριστοί σου λέγοντες ἔσεσθαι, ἠλέγχθημεν ψευδόμενοι. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾤχου πρὸς θεὸν ἀφεὶς τὸ σῶμα τῇ γῇ, ἡμεῖς δ᾿ ἐνταῦθα διατρίβομεν ἔτι· ἐχρῆν δὲ ἅμα τῷ δέξασθαι τὴν ἀγγελίαν τὴν πρώτην, ὡς ἄρα σοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπελήλυθε, καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ σῶμα ἀποθεμένους κούφῃ καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν σὴν κατόπιν διώκειν, ὡς ταύτῃ γε τὴν ταχίστην καταλαβόντας διηνεκῶς ἐκείνῃ συνεῖναι. ᾿Ελέγχει τοίνυν σαφῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς μᾶλλόν γε ἐδείχθημεν φιλόζωοί τε καὶ φιλοσώματοι περιόντες σοῦ θανόντος ἢ ἀληθεῖς καὶ φιλάδελφοι. ᾿Εκεῖνο δὴ λογίζεσθαι χρή, ὡς ἄρ᾿ ἐχρῆν με καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἰδεῖν, ὃ δὴ καὶ χεῖρον πολλῶν θανάτων. Εὐσεβῶς γὰρ νοουμένου τοῦ ῥήματος, ἐπέπρωτό μοι καὶ τόδε τὸ δυστυχές, τὴν διὰ σὲ πληγὴν ἤδη δέξασθαι, τὴν ὄντως γε καιρίαν καὶ μείζω, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς τε καὶ πικραῖς προλαβούσαις. Τοῦθ᾿ ὡς ἔοικεν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῖν ἐστιν εἴσπραξις, πρὸς ἣν οὐ δέον ἀφηνιάζειν. ᾿Επεὶ δὲ οὕτω δέδοκται τῷ Πατρὶ μὲν κατὰ χάριν, δεσπότῃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ κηδεμόνι, ἐν πᾶσι μὲν χάριν εἰδότες διατελέσομεν, τῷ δ᾿ αὖ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ ὅσον εἰκὸς ἀποδώσομεν, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν.

Ὦ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδος, δυστυχοῦς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὥρας, ἐν ᾗ σύ, πάντων φίλτατε, μόνος μοι καταλειφθεὶς ἀδελφῶν μετέστης, προαπελθόντων μὲν συγγενῶν, προαπελθόντων δὲ φίλων, προαπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μητρὸς ἀρίστης, ἣν τίς οὐκ οἶδε ψυχὴν ἄντικρυς ὑπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς τε κοινοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν, ἃ μονονουχὶ νεκρὰ κατελείφθη ταύτην ἀφαιρεθέντα. Ὦ πῶς νῦν

6. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 969; Demosthenes, *In Midiam* 131(557).

2-3. γνωμικὸν mg. codd | 11. ἠλέγθημεν PVVa: ἠλέχθημεν W.

«La date de la mort d'Hélène Cantacuzène, femme de Jean V Paléologue», *REB*, 13(1955), 135-38; 14(1956), 200-201.

feel the loss of the numerous, good and great members of my family. For even though my kinsmen had already journeyed to God, you who were entirely wonderful remained sufficient consolation to me, but when your arrow fell upon me, though in itself it could have destroyed, it served to re-open all the wounds inflicted by the death of my kinsmen, revived them, or rather even aggravated them and caused a worse state than I had suffered from those earlier wounds. And now scarred with wounds, numerous and of every kind, how shall I live out what is left of my life? In truth it is clear that I must lead a bitter, painful life almost incapacitated in mind and body and in the kind of condition that an enemy or a malicious person would wish upon us.

O that bitter message which rushed through the ears to the heart, at once shattering it and producing an almost deadening effect. You indeed departed to the One who loves you and has called you to receive the reward of that virtue which adorned your person, but you deprived this earth of the best she possessed — yourself and your services. This blow will indeed remain for ever in our memory, for this misfortune has been imprinted on our soul like a seal on wax. What then can life be worth to a man suffering such calamities and reflecting upon such thoughts about himself and about affairs of state?

Let the soldier, merchant, farmer, monk, priest, poor and rich, and all ages and every class, mourn with me. For while he lived he was indeed a great inspiration to all and when he departed those from whom he was separated were left as dead. To soldiers he gave victory, for he was present wherever danger seemed greatest and he was the first to face it. To the merchants he brought profit as a result of the peace he secured for his subjects, sometimes relying on prudence, at other times on arms[159]. He enabled the farmers to till the soil which had been impossible even to tread upon before he had walked there. Who honoured monks and priests more than he did and who more than anybody else supplied them with resources with which to maintain their good discipline free from anxiety[160]? There was no need for the poor to go begging for his contributions had already anticipated their

159. His concern for the economic prosperity of the Despotate is reflected in the argyrobull he issued on behalf of Monemvasia: MM 5, pp. 171-74; CBB I, 32 § 28, p. 233; II, pp. 346-48.

160. One of the grants he made to the metropolis of Monemvasia was the

αἰσθάνομαι τῆς συγγενείας γεγυμνωμένος τῆς πολλῆς τε καὶ καλῆς καὶ μεγάλης. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ἀποδεδήμηκε πρὸς θεὸν ἐκείνη, ἀλλὰ f.44v σύ μοι παραμύθιον ἱκανὸν ὑπολέλειψο πάντα θαυμάσιος | ὤν· τὸ σὸν δὲ βέλος ἐπεισπεσὸν ἤδη, καίτοι καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν ὀλέσαι, πάσας μοι τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων πληγὰς ἀνέξανέ τε καὶ ἀνεκαίνισε, μᾶλλον δὲ προσπαροξῦναν καὶ χείρους ἤπερ ἦσαν εἰργάσατο. Καὶ νῦν κατάστικτος ὢν τραύμασι πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς πῶς ἐγὼ βιώσομαι τοῦδε τοῦ βίου τὸ λείψανον; Ἢ δῆλον ὡς πικρῶς, ὡς ἀνιαρῶς, ὡς μικροῦ πεπηρωμένος καὶ νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἄν τις καθ' ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ηὔξατο.

Ὢ πικρᾶς ἀγγελίας ἐκείνης, ἥτις εἰσδραμοῦσα διὰ τῶν ὤτων εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἔσεισέ τε αὐτὴν εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος νεκρὰν εἰργάσατο. Σὺ μὲν ἀπελήλυθας πρὸς τὸν φιλοῦντά τε καὶ καλέσαντα ληψόμενος γέρα τῆς ἀρετῆς, δι' ἧς τὸ σχῆμα κεκόσμηκας, ἀφῄρηκας δὲ τήνδε τὴν γῆν τὸ κάλλιστον ὧν ἐκτήσατο, σαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν τὴν σήν· μενεῖ γε ἀμετάστατος ἡ πληγὴ τῇ μνήμῃ, τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τυπωθέντων καθαπερεὶ σφραγὶς ἐν κηρῷ. Τί οὖν ἂν εἴη τὸ ζῆν ἀνθρώπῳ τοιαῦτα μὲν πάσχοντι, τοιαῦτα δὲ περὶ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν λογιζομένῳ πραγμάτων;

Ὀδυρέσθων σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ στρατιώτης καὶ ἔμπορος καὶ γεωργὸς καὶ μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος, πένης τε καὶ πλούσιος καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ πᾶσα τάξις. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔτι περιὼν ψυχή τις πᾶσιν ἄντικρυς ἦν, καὶ ἀπελθὼν νεκροὺς ἀφῆκεν ὧν γε διέστη. Στρατιώταις μὲν ἐδίδου νικᾶν, ξυμπαρών τε τούτοις πανταχῇ ἔνθα πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἐνομίζετο, καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτος ἀναδεχόμενος· ἐμπόροις δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἣν ἐχορήγει τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν, τοτὲ μὲν φρονήσει, τοτὲ δὲ ὅπλοις· γεωργοῖς τὴν γῆν ἀροῦν, ἣν οὐδὲ πατεῖν ἐξῆν μήπω ταύτην αὐτοῦ πατήσαντος. Μοναχοὺς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τίς μὲν τούτου μᾶλλον ἐτίμα, τίς δὲ πρὸ τοῦδε τούτοις παρεῖχε τὰς f.45 ἀφορμάς, δι' ὧν ἂν εἴη τηρεῖν | τὴν τάξιν φροντίδος ἄνευ; Πένησιν οὐκ ἐπαιτεῖν ἔδει· ἔφθανε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ οἴκοι μένοντας.

8. ἡ:ἢ codd. | 24. τε PVVa: γε W.

village of Helikovounon with its fortress and the lands pertaining to it (MM 5, pp. 168-70; *PP* III, pp. 122-23).

needs and they remained at home. Nor did he neglect to do good to those who prided themselves on their riches. For he thought that it was fitting that all should receive benefits from him, since even the well-off need the bounty of the eminent, just as plants which grow in water need rain from the skies if they are to yield fruit. Thus being well disposed to all those whom I have just mentioned was there ever any one with whom he did not share himself as need demanded? Never indeed. On the contrary he was always accommodating and agreeable to all, when others would not have behaved so even to a single individual. Where are now these blessings? They have departed with your noble Despot like a merchantman carrying its cargo.

O dreadful mist and moonless night filling our lives with never-ending unpleasantness. O dusky and dense clouds discharging hail, damaging every growth, every fruit, every standing crop and plant and whatever the earth produces for man's needs and consolation. O ill-omened thunder shaking the mind with its crash. O whirlwind maiming the eyes of the heart. O fearful thunderbolts swiftly damaging the mind. O destructive hurricane reducing thought to ashes. O wound proving the futility of every medicinal drug. O my never-ending grief. O life no longer bearable were it not for our religious faith, since living is no longer desirable particularly to me, as also to all those who knew precisely how outstanding your character was, o friend of God. This then was the meaning of those signs from afar when they declared a change of fortune for the worse. We however saw this and leapt for joy, thinking that the evil would befall our foes, as some had predicted[161]. Now that the evil turned out to be against us, clearly

---

161. We know at least of one man in the imperial entourage who indulged in prophesies. He was Demetrius Chrysoloras, the mesazon of John VII then ruling in Thessalonica, and reputed as «φιλόσοφος δὲ ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀστρονομικὴν μετερχόμενος ἐπιστήμην». In 1405 (or early 1407) he was sent as ambassador to Manuel in Constantinople. During a meal with the Empress and in the company of his officials, the Emperor asked Chrysoloras if he had discovered any signs of the future which he considered both worth mentioning and recording. Thereupon Chrysoloras predicted that the Church union would take place under the seventh Palaeologus and as a result a great misfortune would befall the Christians. After some discussion as to who the seventh Palaeologus might be, Manuel concluded by saying «τὸ μὲν ἓν ἴσως ἀπεδεχόμην ἀκοῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἕτερον οὐκ ἀπεδεχόμην». (Syropoulos, p. 606, *17-31* for the earlier date; p. 172, *15*-174, *10* for the later date, but if so one would have to assume that the incident occurred in the early part of

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλούτῳ κομῶντας εὐεργετῶν οὐ παρέτρεχεν. Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτῷ πάντας εὖ παθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ· δεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς εὐπορωτέρους τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, καθάπερ τὰ φυόμενά φασιν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τῶν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὑετῶν, εἰ μέλλοιεν οἴσειν καρπόν. Οὕτω δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἔχων τοὺς εἰρημένους, ἔστιν ὅτῳ μὴ παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν κοινὸν κατὰ τὸ καλοῦν τῆς χρείας; Οὔμενουν οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὑπῆρχε διατελῶν εὐάρμοστός τε καὶ εὔρυθμος, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἄν τις ἑνί τω μόνῳ. Ποῦ δὴ ταυτὶ τὰ καλά; Συναποδεδήμηκε τῷ καλῷ, ὥσπερ ὁλκάδι τινὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κομιζόμενα.

Ὦ δεινῆς ἀχλύος καὶ σκοτομαίνης, ἀηδίας μὲν πολλῆς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐμπιπλώσης ζωήν, διαρκεσούσης δὲ μέχρι παντός. Ὦ νεφέλης ζοφερᾶς καὶ παχείας ἀφείσης χάλαζαν βλάψασαν ἑξῆς πᾶσαν βλάστην καὶ πᾶν ὡραῖον καὶ λήιον καὶ φυτὸν καὶ ὅλως ὅσον ἐκ γῆς εἰς χρείαν ἢ παραψυχήν ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ὦ βροντῆς ἀποτροπαίου σεισάσης νοῦν τῷ πατάγῳ. Ὦ τυφῶνος ὀφθαλμοὺς καρδίας πηρώσαντος. Ὦ κεραυνῶν φοβερῶν ὀξέως φρένας λυμηναμένων. Ὦ πρηστῆρος ὀλεθρίου διανοίας ἀποτεφροῦντος. Ὦ πληγῆς λῆρον δεικνύσης πᾶν ἀλεξιτήριον φάρμακον. Ὦ μοι πένθους πέρας οὐκ ἔχοντος. Ὦ ζωῆς οὐ φορητῆς, εἰ μὴ δι' εὐσέβειαν, ὡς οὐκετ' ὂν ἐφετὸν τὸ ζῆν, ἐμοὶ μὲν μάλιστα πάντων, ἔπειτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις οἵτινές σου, φίλε θεοῦ, τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἐξαίρετος ἀκριβῶς ᾔδεσαν. Τοῦτο ἦν ἄρα ἐκεῖνα τὰ πόρρωθεν μηνύοντα μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω. Ἡμεῖς δὲ βλέποντες ἐπηδῶμεν, νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἐνίων τοῦτο μαντευομένων. Νυνὶ δ'
f.45v ἐκβάντος τοῦ κακοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ | καθαψαμένου περιφανῶς πάν-

15. νοῦν τῷ PVW: τὸν νοῦν Va.

that year, for Theodore died in June and Manuel visited the Peloponnese in December 1407. He returned to the capital via Thessalonica after John VII's death there on 22 September 1408). For the office of mesazon see H.-G. Beck, «Der byzantinische 'Ministerpräsident'», *BZ*, 48(1955), 309-38; J. Verpeaux, «Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων», *Byzantinoslavica*, 16(1955), 270-96; R-J. Loenertz, «Le chancelier impérial à Byzance»,BFG I, pp. 441-65. For the custom of the empress being present at meals, see *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966, p. 361.

affecting us all, so vast, so bitter, so irreparable that nothing remains but to live in despondency, weeping and mourning for the rest of time. But at least we do not mourn for him who has been freed from our human condition, which does not differ much from swampy marshes and utter darkness, for he has passed over to that eternal serenity and everlasting life. How could we then mourn for him? Yet it seems that for ourselves, there is nothing left but to mourn. Let us look more closely to see whether this is so.

When he was separated from us he attained God and was enrolled in the band of the blessed ones among whom many were his relatives and his good father and his mother as well (their piety and the righteousness of their characters makes me hope for this), his noblest brothers and the throng of his ancestors and a considerable number of his friends. He has indeed been parted from us who love him while he in turn enjoyed life with us, but now he is with his parents and many of his relatives and friends (who are in no way inferior to us) and he is too with the blessed saints and with God. This would be sweeter by far than to be with us, if such a comparison is at all possible. Nothing comparable to this has happened to us who have suffered his loss. For whom could we encounter who would be a better man than he? It is obvious that there is no one. For how could it be when there is none? Besides no tribulation will ever again beset him who shares in life eternal in the glory and joy which mark this eternal life. As for us who still inhabit this mortal body, the cause of many an evil, as Plato would say, we are forced to come into contact with that evil from which the dead are free[162].

Therefore not only did he free himself from the many calamities which by necessity beset this mortal world but he also attained the good which is far higher than that which is called 'good' in this material world. For in the celestial world the beautiful and the good surpass anything in the terrestial sphere just as immortality exceeds mortality. The difference between the two cannot be expressed in words since, it is clear that the mind fettered by the flesh fails to grasp this. Pleasure in the heavenly world has a further merit in that it is

162. *Phaedo* 66^a-67^b.

των, ὡς ὄντος μὲν οὕτω μεγίστου, ὄντος δὲ οὕτω πικροῦ, ὄντος δὲ ἀδιορθώτου, οὐδὲν ἄλλο λείπεται ἢ ζῆν ἐν ἀθυμίαις, ὀλοφυρομένους τε καὶ πενθοῦντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον. Οὐ μήν γε δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον αὐτόν, ὃς τῶν ἡμετέρων τούτων ἀπαλλαγεὶς τελμάτων τε καὶ ζόφου πολλοῦ μηδὲν διαφερόντων, πρὸς τὴν αἰθρίαν ἐκείνην τὴν ἄληκτον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρω ζωὴν μετέβη· πῶς γάρ; ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, οἳ διὰ μόνον τὸ πενθεῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, κατελείφθημεν. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει, σκοπῶμεν ἀκριβέστερον ταύτῃ.

᾽Εκεῖνος ἡμῶν διαστὰς τετύχηκε μὲν θεοῦ, ἐγγέγραπται δὲ τῷ τῶν μακαρίων χορῷ, ἐν οἷς πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων, πατήρ τε πάντα ἀγαθὸς καὶ μήτηρ οὐδὲν ἥττων (οὕτω γάρ με πείθει θαρρεῖν τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν τρόπων εὐθές), ἀρίστη τε ἀδελφότης καὶ προγόνων ὅμιλος καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν φίλων. Εἰ γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων ἡμῶν κεχώρισται, οἷς συνὼν ἡδόμενος διετέλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνεῖναι τοῦτον τοῖς φύσασι καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ συνήθων, ἡμῶν γε πάντως οὐχ ἥττοσι, καὶ πρός γε ἔτι τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τῷ θεῷ, πολλῷ ἂν ἥδιον τούτῳ γένοιτο τοῦ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν εἶναι, εἴ γε καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐξόν ἐστιν. ῾Ημῖν δὲ τοῦτον ζημιωθεῖσιν οὐδέν τι παραπλήσιον συμβέβηκε. Τίνος γὰρ ἂν καὶ τύχοιμεν τἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου βελτίονος; Δῆλον ὡς οὐδενός· πῶς γάρ, τοῦ μηδαμῶς ὄντος; Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἐκείνῳ συμβήσεται ζωῆς τῆς ἀπεράντου μετεσχηκότι, καὶ δόξης αὖ καὶ τρυφῆς, ἀλήκτῳ βίῳ συμβαινουσῶν. ῾Ημῖν δ᾽ οἰκοῦσιν ἔτι τὸ σῶμα, πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον, εἶπεν ἂν Πλάτων, f.46 πολλοῖς ἀνάγκη μίγνυσθαι τοῖς δεινοῖς, ὧν οἱ μετα|στάντες ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Οὐ μόνον τοίνυν ἀπήλλακται δυσχερειῶν ὅ τι πλείστων, ἃς ἀνάγκη τὸν θνητὸν περινοστεῖν τόνδε κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνταυθοῖ καλῶν ὀνομαζομένων πολλῷ κρειττόνων τετύχηκε. Τὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ καλά τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοσοῦτο προὔχει τῶν ἐνταυθοῖ ὅσον ἀθάνατα θνητῶν. Καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν τὸ διάφορον οὔτε γλώττῃ διδακτόν, νοῦν τε σαρκὶ δεσμούμενον εἴσω πίπτοντα δείκνυσι. Πλεονεκτεῖ δὲ κἂν τούτῳ τὰ

22-25. Plato, *Phaedo* 66a-67b. 31. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* II, 602-3.

---

11. ἧττον et *ω* s.s. P: ἥττων VWVa et *ο* s.s. VW | 28. ἐκεῖ PVVa: ἐκεῖνα W | 29. τοσοῦτο PV: τοσοῦτον Va: τοσούτῳ W.

comparatively pure in comparison with the vulgarities of our world. For in this material world nothing pertaining to enjoyment is completely free from unpleasantness. On the contrary those who consider more carefully will find that the greater part of it is disagreeable. But besides, this evil presses upon us so as to make our despondency much harder to bear. For what is grievous in the present world becomes to a greater degree more painful to those who are submerged by this mighty wave and what we call good and pleasant do not seem, at least now, to exist in nature any longer. And yet why do I think of what is good and pleasant when without the deceased it is unbearable to enjoy what is enjoyable, not even these very rays of the sun of which he is deprived? Even to be in good health, or whatever is intrinsically good, would no longer be worth much to us. How can it be that this very life should be considered only partially good? Because the separation of mortal bodies whose spirits were inseparable makes it impossible for pleasures to be enjoyed in themselves nor can what is called pleasure still to be considered as such. He now walks in solemn step together with the band of martyrs, he who when alive was unable to walk at all after his disease took hold of him. I omit his battles in defence of virtue as far as is possible. But his soul flashes like lightning partly because of his zeal for the faith (which was indeed great) and the dangers he faced on behalf of his people (for he experienced many and often) and also partly because even when his body was lacerated by the fierceness of his disease he did not utter a single ignoble word of any kind that might indicate meanness of spirit. On the contrary he said nothing which was not full of gratitude, as our oration has already pointed out. And so he was summoned from his struggles to the crowns and rewards, from the meaner and transient to the nobler and unchanging. But, as I have already said, during all the rest of our time on earth we shall be gravely affected, deprived of him for whom we would have given all, deprived also of the benefits he bestowed, sometimes giving freely as from a welling spring, sometimes granting some measure of help through his advice or by the forethought which he showed in every possible way.

I do not feel that I have made a fitting conclusion. I ask forgiveness for my inadequacy from those of you present here and from those who may chance at some time to read this oration. Perhaps this calamity accounts for my failure in that it has dulled my mind.

τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τῆς ἐκεῖ, ὅτι παντάπασι καθαρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων τουτωνὶ συρφετῶν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐστι τῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην διὰ τέλους κάθαρεῦον ἀηδίας. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν σκοποῦσιν ἀκριβέστερον ἐπικρατέστερον εὑρεθήσεται τὸ δυσχερέστερον μέρος. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπίκειται τὸ δεινὸν χαλεπωτέραν κομιδῇ τὴν ἀθυμίαν ποιοῦν. Τά τε γὰρ ἀνιαρὰ τοῦ παρόντος βίου πολύ τι χαλεπώτερα γίγνεται βεβαπτισμένοις ὑπό τοῦ μεγίστου κύματος τούτου, καὶ ἃ καλά τε καὶ ἡδέα προσαγορεύομεν οὐδὲ γοῦν ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἔτι φαίνεται. Καίτοι τί καὶ μέμνημαι καλῶν τε καὶ ἡδέων, ὁπότ' οὐδ' ἀνεκτόν ἐστι τῶν ἀπολαυστῶν ἀπολαύειν ἄνευ ἐκείνου τοῦ μακαρίτου, οὐδὲ ταυτησὶ τῆς ἀκτῖνος, ἧστινος ἐκεῖνος ἐστέρηται; Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ εὐεκτεῖν καὶ ὅσα καθ' αὑτὰ καλὰ περὶ πλείστου γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἔτι. Πόθεν, οἷς γε μηδ' αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν ἀγαθὸν ὅλως φαίνεται; Τὸ γὰρ κεχωρίσθαι τὰ σώματα ὧν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀχώριστοι, οὐδὲν ἐᾷ τῶν τερπνῶν καθαρῶς ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι μένειν καὶ τοῦθ' ὃ λέγεται τερπνὸν ἔτι κρίνεσθαι. Αὐτῷ μὲν οὖν οἱ πόδες χορεύσουσι μετὰ τῶν μαρτύρων σεμνῶς ἄγαν τῷ μηδὲ βαδίζειν ἐνθάδε δύνασθαι μετὰ τὸ τὴν νόσον κεκρατηκέναι. Ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς f.46v δρόμους, ἕως ἐξὸν ἦν. Ἀστράπτει δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ οὐ| μόνον διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ζῆλον (πολὺς γὰρ ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ) καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους κινδύνους (πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀνεδέχετο καὶ πυκνούς) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ κατατεμνομένου τῇ τοῦ κακοῦ δριμύτητι, οὐδὲν οὐ μέγα, οὐ σμικρὸν ῥῆμα προήνεγκεν ἀγεννὲς ἢ μικροψυχίαν ὑποφαῖνον, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὃ μὴ πολλῆς ἔγεμε τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὡς ὁ λόγος προλαβὼν ἔδειξεν. Ὥστ' ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀγώνων πρὸς στεφάνους τε καὶ γέρα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τε καὶ ῥεόντων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω καὶ μὴ κινούμενα κέκληται. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρα, ὡς δὴ καὶ προὔφην, τόν γε ἑξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον κακῶς διακεισόμεθα, ἐστερημένοι μὲν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἂν τοῦ παντὸς ἠλλαξάμεθα, ἐστερημένοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν αἴτιος ἦν ἐκεῖνος, τὰ μὲν διδοὺς ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς, τὰ δέ που συμβουλεύων ἢ προνοούμενος ἅπαντα τρόπον.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι οὐχ ὑγιῶς συμπεράνας· καὶ δότε μοι συγγνώμην ἡμαρτηκότι οἵ τε παρόντες ἀκροαταὶ καὶ οἱ τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε ὁπουδήποτε τυχὸν ἐντευξόμενοι. Ἴσως μοι τὸ πάθος τοῦτο προὐξένησεν ἐργασάμενον ἀμβλύτερον τὸν νοῦν. Τί δὲ τὸ ἁμάρτημα; Ἤδη

14. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. (mutil. V) | 16. χορεύσουσι PV: χορεύουσι WVa | 30. πηγῆς PWVa: γῆς V | 33. συγγράμματι τούτῳ PVW: mg. *γρ.* λόγῳ τῷδε P: λόγῳ τῷδε Va.

Wherein lies the fault of my oration? I will tell you at once. I have declared that our noble and especially beloved one must be living among undefiled blessings. This is true, as I think I have shown to you that such hopes may rightly be entertained. On the other hand I have declared that you will live in sorrow for all time, since you have surely suffered the loss of him who was, or would have been had he had lived, the cause of your greatest and many blessings. This is indeed an absurdity and is simply like some riddle: even though we would wish him well and would suffer every evil for his sake, now that he has gained eternal blessedness, we are grieving at being deprived of him for a time. To admit this would be to imply that we value our own interests more than his, and that we delighted in having him among us not for his own sake and his own good but for ours. We therefore conclude that this way of thinking does not derive from genuine affection but it is indeed far removed from this and totally unworthy. Surely it ought to have been quite the opposite, namely, his interests should be put before ours. I think that it is fitting that we should do this since we firmly maintain that we love him more than ourselves.

And so having criticised and repudiated my error, adequately I think, I would like to redress the balance by making a correction which will also prove a consolation to you. I propose that you should rejoice together with your Despot in that he now enjoys the celestial world and you must refrain from concentrating on your loss by his death and indulging in immoderate sorrow. For it is most irrational that we should grieve with him in this world when he was in pain and yet fail to rejoice with him now that he is at peace in heaven. Indeed I think it is not fitting even for envious men to be vexed because some one has attained eternal blessings after death, just as no one would envy those drinking from an inexhaustible spring. People usuallly feel envious of successful men because those bearing a grudge are under the impression that their affairs will suffer by reason of the success of the truly happy. But we must however rejoice with him and place our own interests second to his eternal happiness. And now is the time to touch upon our exhortation.

I say that we should not bear his loss without any pain as fools would. Nor should we make tiresome and violent outbursts. But we should try to submit in humility to the decrees of Providence and in moderation delight in our good hopes for his well-being. For had we believed that there is no life after death our discourse would have been

λέξω. Ἀπεφηνάμην εἶναι δεῖν τὸν ἄριστον ἡμῖν καὶ διαφερόντως πεφιλημένον ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀκηράτοις (τοῦτ᾽ ἀληθές· οὕτω γὰρ ἐλπίζειν προσήκειν, οἶμαι, δεδεῖχθαι), ὑμᾶς δ᾽ ἐν λύπαις τὸν πάντα χρόνον, αὐτόν γε δήπου ζημιωθέντας, ὃς ἦν αἴτιος ὑμῖν, καὶ ἦν ἄν, εἴ γε περιῆν, μεγίστων καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Τοῦτο ἀτοπώτατον καὶ ἀτεχνῶς αἰνίγματι ἐοικός· εἰ ὅτῳ γε βουλοίμεθα πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ πᾶν δεινὸν ὑπέστημεν ἄν, αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνου τετυχηκότος, ἡμεῖς ἀνιώμεθα διὰ τὸ πρός καιρόν τινα τούτου στέρεσθαι· εἴη γὰρ ἂν ταῦτα ὁμολογοῦντος, ὡς τὰ ἡμέτερα καλὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ποιούμεθα καὶ φίλον ἦν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν εἶναι οὐ δι᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ f.47 συμφέρον αὐτοῦ ἢ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον. Οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἀ|γάπης ὑγιοῦς τὸ διὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων συμπεραινόμενον ἀλλὰ μακράν που ταύτης ἀπῳκισμένον καὶ οἷον ἔκπτωτον. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ πᾶν τοὐναντίον μὴ τὰ ᾽κείνου δεύτερα τῶν ἡμετέρων τίθεσθαι. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν προσήκειν ἡγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἰσχυριζομένους.

Καὶ τοίνυν ἐμαυτὸν ἐξελέγξας καὶ παραιτησάμενος ἱκανῶς, οἶμαι, ἥκω παραινέσων ἐξ ἀντιρρόπου πρὸς ἐμαυτοῦ διόρθωσιν καὶ ὑμετέραν ὠφέλειαν συγχαίρειν τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ δεσπότῃ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ μὴ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ λύπῃ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφορῶντας ζημίαν τῆς μεταστάσεως ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ. Πάντων γὰρ ἀλογώτατον ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἀλγοῦντι τούτῳ συνάχθεσθαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἡδομένῳ μὴ συνήδεσθαι. Φθονοῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀσχάλλειν οἶμαι προσήκειν, εἴ τις δὴ τετύχηκεν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν μεταστάς, εἴπερ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἀκενώτου πηγῆς πίνουσι φθονήσειεν ἄν τις τῶν πάντων. Τὸ γὰρ φθονεῖν εὖ πράττουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν τοὺς φθονοῦντας ἐλαττοῦσθαι τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῇ τῶν εὐδαιμονούντων εὐπραγίᾳ, φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι. Ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτῳ συγχαίρειν δεῖ ἐν ὑστέρῳ γε θεμένους τὰ ἡμέτερα καλὰ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐκείνου μεταβολὴν οὐκ ἐκδεχομένης. Ἐν καιρῷ δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο τῆς παραινέσεως ἅψασθαι.

Φημὶ δὴ πρέπειν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναλγητὶ μὲν φέρειν τὴν ἐκείνου στέρησιν ὥσπερ ἠλιθίους ὑπάρχοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐροῦμεν οὐδέν, οὔτε φορτικὸν οὔτε βίαιον· φέρειν δ᾽ οὖν πράως πειρᾶσθαι τὸ τῇ προνοίᾳ δόξαν καὶ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἃς περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἔχομεν ἐπιεικῶς ἥδεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐνομίζομεν,

---

15. ἰσχυριζομένους (ex ἰσχυριζομένοις) P: ἰσχυριζομένους VWVa | 22. δὲ PWVa: om. V | 25. γνωμικὸν mg. codd. | 34 δόξαν in ras. PV: W: βεβουλευμένον Va.

different. But since we are indeed taught and above all believe that this life is a shadow[163] and the path leading to life after death we should not concern ourselves overmuch with life here but we ought to turn all our thoughts to life after death. And so we are faced with two alternatives: either those of us who greatly love this man and have shown this by our actions must deny that he is in the presence of God and therefore mourn him with unrestrained lamentation; or we must suppose the contrary and rejoice rather than lament. Yet in truth we believe him to be in a place free from all sorrow, among his many friends and relatives and in the presence of that Light which when it appears will darken the sun with its radiance. And above all we believe that he is united with Christ our Saviour, the Head of the Universal Church[164] which, as Paul teaches, is of the 'same body and fellow-heir'[165] of Christ our Saviour and God who is indeed 'the chief corner stone in whom all the building is fitly framed together', and again I quote Paul, which 'groweth into a holy temple'[166]. And if this is so, then it is not right that we should be filled with sorrow and great despondency on account of ourselves and our loss since it is reasonable to rejoice in his journey to God and in the blessings he has attained. Otherwise we should be showing the feelings of a self-willed man who prefers what is pleasant for himself rather than what is in the interests of his friend. For he who truly loves should be ready to suffer much pain in order that his dear ones should live in glory and tranquility free from malice. I suppose you might see a widowed mother sending off her good and only daughter — for whose sake she would have given her life — to a foreign land to marry a distinguished man, shedding tears at the parting which was not easy, knowing that she would not be able to see again the child whose happiness she put before her own enjoyment. But she rejoiced and wept at her beloved daughter's good fortune — the

---

163. Job 8:9.
164. Colossians 1:18.
165. Ephesians 3:6.
166. Ephesians 2:20-21.

ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντως καὶ δεδιδάγμεθα καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον πιστεύομεν σκιὰν εἶναι τόνδε τὸν βίον καὶ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸν μετέπειτα, μικρὰ τῶν τῇδε φροντίζειν χρὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ποιεῖσθαι f.47^{v} τὸν πάντα λόγον.| Καὶ δὴ δυοῖν θάτερον· χρὴ γὰρ δήπου τόνδε φιλοῦντας τοσοῦτον μέγα τε καὶ πολὺ ὁπόσον ἕκαστος ἔργῳ δείκνυσιν, ἢ μὴ νομίζειν εἶναι μετὰ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτον ὀδύρεσθαι μηδενὶ κατεχομένους, μήτε λογισμῷ μήτέ λόγῳ, ἢ τἀναντία δοξάζοντας καὶ τἀναντία τῶν ὀδυρμῶν πράττειν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνον πιστεύομεν εἶναι μὲν ἐν καθαρῷ λύπης ἁπάσης χωρίῳ, εἶναι δὲ ἐν φίλων χοροῖς, εἶναι δὲ ἐν συγγενῶν, εἶναι δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτί, ὃ φανὲν κατὰ καιρὸν σκοτώσει τόνδε τὸν ἥλιον τῇ πολλῇ λαμπρότητι, καὶ ὃ δὴ πάντων ὑπέρκειται, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν συνῆφθαι τῷ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης, ἥτις ἐκείνῳ σύσσωμος καὶ συγκληρονόμος, κατὰ τὴν Παύλου διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ὅν γε δὴ σωτῆρά τε καὶ θεὸν λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον ὄντα, πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη, καὶ γὰρ τὰ Παύλου πάλιν ἐρῶ, αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον. Καὶ εἰ ταυτὶ ξυνδοκεῖ, μὴ οὐχὶ γιγνόμενον ᾖ, ὅτε χαίρειν ἦν εἰκὸς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐκείνου πορείας καὶ ὧν τετύχηκεν ἀγαθῶν, τό τε δι᾽ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ζημίαν λύπης τε καὶ ἀθυμίας μακρᾶς πληροῦσθαι, μήποτε ταῦτα αὐθάδους ᾖ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προκρίνοντος ἡδὺ τοῦ ὃν φιλεῖ συμφέροντος. Τὸν γὰρ ἀληθῶς φιλοῦντα πολύ τι δάκνον δέχεσθαι χρή, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι τοὺς ἐρωμένους δόξῃ καὶ ῥᾳστώνῃ συνεῖναι καθαρᾷ διαβολῆς. Ἴδοις δ᾽ ἄν που καὶ μητέρα μετὰ χηρείαν κόρην μονογενῆ καὶ καλήν, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἂν ἐδίδου, εἰς ἀλλοδαπήν τινα πέμπουσαν ἀνδρὶ λαμπρῷ συναφθησομένην, καὶ δάκρυον μὲν ἀφιεῖσαν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῷ χωρισμῷ τῆς παιδός, ὡς οὐκ ὂν οὔτε ῥᾴδιον οὔτε τυχὸν δυνατὸν ἐκείνην αὖθις θεάσασθαι, τὴν ταύτης δ᾽ οὖν εὐδαιμονίαν προτιθεῖσαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀπολαύσεως. Ἥδεται μέντοι καὶ κλάουσα ὡς τευξομένης ἀγαθῶν τῆς

---

2. Iob 8.9. 13. Ep. Col. 1.18. 13-14. Ep. Eph. 3.6. 16-17. Ep. Eph. 2.20-21.

---

4. δὴ PVM: om. Va | 17. ὅτε PVVa: ὅτι W | 21. γνωμικὸν mg. codd.

pleasant has the advantage over the unpleasant, for otherwise she would not have sent her away[167]. I think that sorrow is vanquished by joy when the beloved ones benefit at the cost of the certain pain and sorrow of those who love them. If we were to emulate this mother we should obtain much consolation, or rather we should gain happiness instead of the less noble feeling of sorrow. It is my desire that I should so argue that the wiser view may unequivocally prevail.

If then we believe that our beloved one would attone after death for evils he had committed in this world we should not cease the sorrow which is devouring us. And if anyone else should try to speak soothingly we should not listen to him, be he orator, philosopher, or high minded man with great powers of persuasion, but on the contrary we should think him mad for ever hoping to persuade us. And if he presses us with his worthless arguments we should send him away with stones and abuse. For if he (Theodore) revered God and maintained his unsullied faith in Him and honoured his parents and served his people, and indeed strangers too, as far as was possible — and undoubtedly his whole life bears this out — then we must rest assured that he is enjoying the blessings of paradise in company of the martyrs and we should not be filled with immeasurable sorrow for this excellent man, like those who 'have no hope', as the divine Paul says[168]. But we should rather let the greatest misfortunes be completely outweighed by more noble hopes, or at least let what we long for and perceive with our minds predominate over what is present and visible. Am I not saying what is important? For I believe if we were to be offered the choice either of enjoying heavenly blessings after a long life and reign, lived in splendour and in the greatest happiness, or dying now and attaining these heavenly blessings before we had experienced any earthly benefits we should undoubtedly prefer the immaterial to the material world and choose the second alternative. Surely then, is it not completely unreasonable that a man should not desire his friends to have what he would wish for himself? But there is another point to

167. The choice of example is interesting. Manuel had a sister Irene who was betrothed to Halil, son of the Turkish emir of Bithynia (Cantacuzenus (B) v. 3, p. 238; Gregoras (B) v. 3 pp. 504, 507-509). It is possible that the Emperor was drawing from his mother's experience in this case, or even from his maternal grandmother whose daughter Theodora was married to the Sultan Orhan. On Theodora see Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 134-35 and n. 4.

168. Ephesians 2:12.

φιλτάτης· καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ τὴν ἀηδίαν παρέρχεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως
f.48 ἔπεμπε. Δοκεῖ γάρ μοι ἡττᾶσθαι | τὸ λυποῦν ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, ἂν ἐξῇ
τοὺς ἐρωμένους εὖ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν δάκνον τι καὶ λυπηρὸν τοὺς
ἐρῶντας. Ταύτην εἰ ζηλώσαιμεν τὴν μητέρα, πολλῆς τινος τευξόμεθα
τῆς παραμυθίας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εὐφροσύνης ἀντὶ φαυλοτέρας λύπης.
Βούλομαι δ' ἔτι χρήσασθαι λογισμοῖς, ὥστε μετὰ μείζονος τῆς
περιουσίας τὴν ἀμείνω δόξαν κρατῆσαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν πιστεύομεν τὸν ἡμῖν ἐρώμενον δίκας ἐκτίνειν ἐκεῖ
κακῶν, μήθ' ἡμεῖς ἀνακωχὴν τῷ κατεσθίοντι δῶμεν πάθει· καὶ εἴ τις
ἕτερος ἡμᾶς παραμυθεῖσθαι πειρῷτο, μηδ' ὑποσχῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ ὦτα·
κἂν ῥήτωρ ᾖ, κἂν φιλόσοφος, κἂν τῇ τῆς πειθοῦς δυνάμει μεγάλα καὶ
δύνηται καὶ φρονῇ, μαίνεσθαι δοξάσωμεν αὐτὸν ἐλπίζοντά ποτε
πείσειν· κἂν ἐπικέηται ληρῶν, λίθοις τε καὶ ὕβρεσιν ἀποπέμψωμεν.
Εἰ δ' ἐφοβεῖτο μὲν ἐκεῖνος τὸν θεόν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πίστιν
ἀκραιφνεστάτην διατετήρηκε, καὶ διετέλει τιμῶν γονέας καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἰδίους ποιῶν εὖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καθ' ὅσον ἐχρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους,
καὶ ὅλως οὐδ' ἀμφιγνοεῖν ὁ τούτου δίδωσι βίος, ἀλλὰ πεπείσμεθα
αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καλῶν ἀπολελαυκέναι συγχορευτὴν ὄντα
τοῖς μάρτυσι, μὴ κατηφείας ἀμέτρου πληρώμεθα ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου τοῦ
πάνυ ὥσπερ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα, φησὶν ἡ θεία κεφαλὴ Παῦλος,
ἀλλ' ἢ τελέως καταποθήτω τὰ δυσχερέστερα ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστοτέρων
ἐλπίδων, ἢ πλεονεκτείτω γοῦν, ὅσῳ γε κρείττω τὰ ἐλπιζόμενά τε καὶ
θεωρούμενα τῶν γε παρόντων καὶ βλεπομένων. Καὶ τί μὴ λέγω τὸ
μεῖζον; Πείθομαι γάρ, ὡς αἱρέσεως ὑμῖν προτεθείσης ἢ μετὰ μακρὰν
ζωὴν καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ὅ τι πλείστην τῶν
οὐρανίων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαῦσαι ἢ εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαγέντας τούτων τυχεῖν
πρὸ τοῦ τινὸς τῶν εἰρημένων μετασχεῖν, τῆς δευτέρας πάντως ἂν
ἐγένεσθε μοίρας τὰ 'κεῖ τῶν τῇδε προκρίναντες. Πῶς οὖν οὐ
f.48v παντάπασιν ἄτοπον, εἰ ἅπερ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ | βούλεται, ταῦτα μὴ ὑπὲρ
τῶν φίλων θελήσειεν; Ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ κἀκεῖνο· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα

---

20. Ep. Eph. 2.12.

---

2. γνωμικὸν PV mg.: om. WVa | 9. δῶμεν πάθει PVW: πάθει δῶμεν Va. | 13. ἐπικέηται PVW: ἐπικαίηται Va.

consider. If we lament the deceased because of our great love for him and we believe life to be poorer and wish to be dead and freed from it, it is obvious that he in his love for us (for his affection towards us was certainly as great as ours for him) would have been content, had we departed before him, to leave this life as soon as possible. And this is indeed most reasonable. For if we could find consolation for our sorrow, so then should he, and if we could not do so, then neither could he.

It follows then from this line of reasoning that it is better to die before your loved ones rather than to lose them by death while you still live. I will however use a more fitting argument. I say then, should someone give both him and us the option of dying before him, or, on the other hand, that he should die before us, he would have put before us a very difficult choice. It may be good to be alive, but to spend one's life in sorrow is of all things the most intolerable, while to desire to free oneself from sorrow, yet only to be able to achieve this through the dreaded death which all fear, is no easy solution. Since it is difficult for us to decide which is the better choice let us gladly accept what has been decreed by that Providence which dispenses human affairs more wisely that we could ever wish. For God has the knowledge and power and will to accomplish what is in the interests of all. We on the other hand often despise the better, which is within our reach and opt for the worst course and ignoring what is in our interests instead we act contrary to them. And so I think that in this case the word 'better' was not well chosen since our concept of the good cannot bear comparison with that of God.

Let us stay here in church until we have so reasoned with ourselves as to allow us that measure of sorrow which would not be so excessive as either to provoke God or to grieve our loved one. For in truth he would be grieved should we arouse God's wrath, and all this because of him and his journey from this world. And so let us who loved him pour out our grief for his soul as each can and thinks proper to do. For we all can only pay him this tribute and this again remains the most sincere sign of our love for him. And this is fitting for one who was

τόνδε φιλεῖσθαι, παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπελθόντος, ὀδυρόμεθα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν χείρω νομίζομεν ἢ εἰ θανόντες ἀπηλλάξαμεν, πρόδηλον ὅτι κἀκεῖνος φιλῶν ἡμᾶς φίλτρον μηδαμῶς ἔλαττον τουτουί τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, τὴν ταχίστην ἂν ἠγάπησεν ἀπελθεῖν, ἡμῶν ἐκείνου προαπελθόντων. Καὶ μάλ᾽ εἰκότως. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν εὑρεῖν παραμυθίαν τῆς λύπης, κἀκείνῳ ἂν γένοιτο· εἰ δ᾽ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἡμῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνῳ πάντως ἂν ἦν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑπόμενον τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστίν, ὡς ἄρα κρεῖττον ἀπελθεῖν πρὸ τῶν φιλουμένων ἢ ζῶντα τούτων στέρεσθαι τῇ μεταστάσει τῶν τῇδε. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὖν ὅμως χρήσομαι μετριωτέρῳ τῷ λόγῳ. Φημὶ οὖν ὡς εἴ τις ἡμῖν κἀκείνῳ προὔθηκεν αἵρεσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνου προαπελθεῖν ἢ τοὐναντίον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνον, ὑπόθεσιν παρέσχετ᾽ ἂν ἀμφοτέροις οὐ ῥᾳδίαν ἔχουσαν κρίσιν. Εἴτε γὰρ καλὸν τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὺν λύπῃ διηνεκεῖ παντάπασιν ἀφόρητον, εἴτε ἐπιθυμητὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν λυπούντων, ἀλλὰ τὸ διὰ θανάτου, ὅν γε πέφρικεν ἅπας ἄνθρωπος, οὔ μοι δοκεῖ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι θελῆσαι. Ὡς οὖν μηδὲν εὔκριτον ὂν ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων εὑρεῖν ζητοῦσι τὸ βέλτιον, στέργωμεν τὸ τῇ προνοίᾳ δόξαν ἄμεινον οἰκονομούσῃ τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα. Θεὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταται καὶ δύναται καὶ βούλεται τὸ πᾶσι λυσιτελῆσον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν χειρόνων ὀρεγόμεθα πολλάκις τὰ βελτίω διαπτύοντες παρὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγνοοῦντες ἐργαζόμεθα. Ὥστ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον οὐ καλῶς ἐνταῦθα λελέχθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παράθεσιν ὅλως οὐ δέχεται.

Μὴ δὴ πρότερον τοῦ νεὼ προέλθωμεν πρὶν ἢ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι τοσῷδε μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῇ λύπῃ, ὅσῳ μήτε τὸν θεὸν παροξῦναι τῷ τῆς ἀθυμίας ὑπερβάλλοντι μήτε τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀνιᾶσαι.
f.49 Ἠ γὰρ ἀνιάσεται,| εἰ τὸ θεῖον παροργίσαιμεν, καὶ ταῦτα δι᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε τοῦδε πορείαν. Δείξωμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς τῷ ἀναλίσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ ἐρωμένου ψυχῆς, ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστος δύναιτο καὶ κρίνοι πρέπειν αὐτῷ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μόνον συνεισενεγκεῖν πάντες ἔχομεν, καὶ τοῦτο αὖ ἐπίδειξις ἀληθεστάτη λείπεται τῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀγάπης· καὶ συνοίσει μὲν κἀκείνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ πεφυκότι καὶ

---

18. δόξαν in ras. PV: W: βεβουλευμένον Va | 26. τοσῷδε μόνῳ (ex τοσόνδε μόνον) PV: W τοσόνδε μόνον Va | ὅσῳ PWVa: ὅσον V | 29. τοῦδε PVW: τούτου Va.

born a man and lived in a body of clay[169], thus making it impossible to achieve absolute purity. It is also befitting that you, in so far as is needful, should perform this function for a man who was most noble and your Despot, who bestowed great and numerous benefits on you, who now lives in that greatest of countries in the presence of God, who will attain even greater things when this earth, home and mother of mankind, has restored to the spirit that body which performed good deeds to the eternal glory and joy which we would also attain thanks to your Despot's mediation with God.

These, o divine soul, are our tributes to you who in the past received many and fair panegyrics and in the future will receive still more from many distinguished orators, for all that is left to us is to pay tribute to the fame of the departed. Having seen other people's tributes I was well satisfied, for they were altogether laudatory and bore witness to the speaker's noble oratory, even though the orators greatly failed in their description of the deceased. But this will inevitably happen to those attempting to praise your character. I do not know how my oration will appear to others. Or rather I know well that it certainly falls somewhat short of your worth and of the adequate commemoration of your virtue, or at least scarcely conveys what you were. But I know well that your profound love for me and your satisfaction in my achievements (rather than passing it by as is done by those who act out of indifference) will cause you to accept my tribute with joy and to prefer it above all others. Those of you who have heard my oration will however forgive me, realizing the arduousness of the undertaking, but even if we could not bail out the ocean in small cups we have at least drawn as much water as we could, as if from an over-flowing river, and have given it to you to drink so that you may at least taste the quality of the fresh and limpid water.

---

169. Job 13:12.

πηλῷ τῷ σώματι τούτῳ συγγεγονότι, ᾧ μὴ οἷόν τε συνόντα καθαρὸν παντάπασιν εὑρεθῆναι, συνοίσει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, ἅτε δὴ τὸ δέον ἀποπληροῦσιν ἀνδρὶ πάντα ἀγαθῷ καὶ δεσπότῃ καὶ αἰτίῳ γε πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γεγονότι καὶ νῦν μεγίστην ἔχοντι χώραν παρὰ θεῷ καὶ τευξομένῳ μείζονος, ὅταν ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ γένους ἑστία καὶ μήτηρ, ἥδε ἡ γῆ, ἀποδῷ τῷ πνεύματι τὸ συνεργῆσαν σῶμα πρὸς τὰ καλὰ εἴς δόξαν τε καὶ εὐφροσύνην αἰώνιον, ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς τύχοιμεν, ἵλεων ποιοῦντος τὸν θεὸν ἐκείνου τἀνδρός.

Ταῦτά σοι, θεία ψυχή, παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πολλάς τε καὶ καλὰς εὐφημίας καὶ δεξαμένῳ πρότερον καὶ δεξομένῳ μετέπειτα παρὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ καλῶν εἰς τὸ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς δόξαν ἔτι λέλειπται τοῖς οἰχομένοις. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδὼν ἥσθην· καλὰ γὰρ ἦν κομιδῇ καὶ γλῶτταν ἀγαθὴν μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τοῦ προκειμένου διημάρτανον οἱ λέγοντες. Τοῦτο γὰρ παθεῖν ἀνάγκη τοῖς σοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἐπαινεῖν πειρωμένοις. Τἀμὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁποῖα δόξει. Μᾶλλον δὲ εὖ οἶδα πάντως ἐπιεικῶς λειπόμενα τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τοῦ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν καλῶς ἐξυμνῆσαι ἢ γοῦν ἐγγὺς ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ γιγνομένου. Σὺ δ᾽ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεμηνότι καὶ τῷ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥᾳθυμεῖν οἱ τοῦτο διώκοντες, καὶ ὑποδέξῃ ταῦτα σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ προτιμήσεις τῶν ἄλλων πάντων. Συγγνώσεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ παρόντες, τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος τὸ ἄναντες ἐννοοῦντες, εἰ μὴ κοτύλαις τὸ πέλαγος μεμετρήκαμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐκ ποταμοῦ τινος ἀεννάου ἀρυσάμενοι ὅσον οἷόν τε δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν γεύσασθαι, ὡς ἂν τὸ πότιμον ἐκείνου καὶ διειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους γένοιτο δῆλον.

---

1. Iob. 13.12. 22-23. cf. *Paris. gr. 1378, f. 28:* ὡς κοτύλῃ πειρᾶται ἀντλεῖν τὸ ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος cit. V. Laurent, *REB* 30 (1972),170 n. 36. 23 cf. Aeschylum, *Supplices* 553; Platonem, *Phaedo* 111d.

---

3. ἀνδρὶ (ex ἀνδρί τε) PV: W: ἀνδρί τε Va | 6. ἡ PVVa: om. W | 8. ἵλεωνν (ν s.s.) P: WVa: ἵλεω V | 12. λέλειπται PVW: λέλοιπται Va | 21. προτιμήσεις (ex προτιμήσῃ) V: W: προτιμήσῃς (ex προτιμήσῃ) P: προτιμήσῃ Va | 23-24 ἀρυσάμενοι: ἀρρυσάμενοι codd.

APPENDIX 1

Ea f. 257

Τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως
κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου
λόγος ἐπιτάφιος πρὸς τὸν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ [cf. supra 75]
δεσπότην πορφυρογέννητον κῦριν Θεόδωρον τὸν Παλαιολόγον.

Ἀλλὰ τί καὶ φθέγξωμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παρόντες, μήτ' αὐτὸς λέγειν ἰσχύων μήθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν δυναμένους καθαρὰς τὰς ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς λόγοις; Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντως οὐ συγχωρήσετε σιωπᾶν ἐλπίζοντές τι ῥηθήσεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅπερ ἂν ἴσως συμβαίη τῇ παρούσῃ συμφορᾷ, ἐροῦμεν ὡς ἐφικτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτό γε τεκμαιρόμεθα. ὡς ἀμηγέπη χαλεπαίνετε τῷ μὴ θᾶττον εἰρῆσθαι γιγνόμενόν τι. Δῆλοι γάρ ἐστε τοῖς ὅλοις τὴν τοῦ λόγου μέλλησιν μονουχὶ διαβάλλοντες τῇ γλώττῃ μὲν οὐδαμῶς (οὐ γὰρ συγχωρεῖ τὸ πάθος ἐνακμάζον ταῖς ψυχαῖς), τῷ δὲ ἀτενὲς εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁρᾶν καὶ τοῖς κοπετοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπαίτησις εὐλόγως ἂν καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν γένοιτο καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τέλος λάβοι· δικαία γὰρ δοθῆναι πρὶν αἰτηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποδοθῆναι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ταύτην ἀπαιτηθῆναι. Καὶ ἔγωγε τὴν πρώτην ἂν ἀποδεδώκειν τὸ ὄφλημα, εἰ οἷος τ' ἦν ἀποδοῦναι, οὐκ εὐχερῶς δ' ἂν δυναίμην τῷ τῆς μεγίστης ταυτησὶ συμφορᾶς βεβλημένος πάθει. Ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ καταγόμενος ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶδόν τι μέρος τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἥν ποτ' ἐκεῖνος πεπάτηκε θηρεύων πάντως ἢ στρατηγῶν, τὸ μὲν δάκρυον προυχεῖτο ποταμηδόν, ἀφωνία δὲ κατέσχε καὶ οὐκ εἴα φθέγγεσθαι. Αὐτὸς γὰρ οὗτος ὁ χῶρος, ὃν ἐκεῖνος εὖ ποιῶν διατετελέκει, μονονού μοι τὴν μορφὴν ὑποφαίνων [77] τοῦ νῦν ἀμόρφου, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι καθαρῶς ἐᾷ μένειν. Καὶ δότε μοι συγγνώμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡμιθανεῖ γενομένῳ τῇ τοῦ οἰχομένου στερήσει καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἰσχύοντι τὸ ὑμῖν κεχαρισμένον διαπράξασθαι. Δίκαιοι δ' ἂν εἴητε συγγινώσκειν, οἵ γε μὴ δ' αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ παράπαν δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι τῇ πληγῇ καὶ ἐπηρείᾳ τοῦ πάθους. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρέος ἀποτιννύναι πειρῶμαι, εὑρίσκομαι δὲ μηδὲν ἀνύων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ

---

26. ἡμιθανεῖ et — θνητι s.s.

πικρῷ τε καὶ ἀπηνεῖ, ὃ δὴ νῦν ἐχεπευκὲς πολλῷ ἂν μᾶλλον σὺν τῷ καιρῷ ἢ τὸ πρὶν εἶπεν Ὅμηρος.

Ἔγωγε δίχα τμηθεὶς ἀφ' ἧς ὁ νῦν θρηνούμενος ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐγένετο, ληψόμενος γέρα τῆς ἀρετῆς, ᾗ καὶ συμβεβίωκε καὶ συναπελήλυθε,
f.257ᵛ μόγις | ἀναπνεῖν δύναμαι, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν οὔπω καλῶς δύναμαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐλπὶς βεβαία εἰ δυνήσομαί ποτε. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν τέκοι διάνοια τηλικῷδε κακῷ πηρωθεῖσα; τί δ' ἂν καὶ φθέγξαιτο γλῶττα κακῷ τοσῷδε νεναρκωμένη; Χωρὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ δεῖσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν τὸ νῦν ἐπιχείρημα, καὶ δεῖν εἶναι καθάπαξ τοὺς ἐπαινέσοντάς τε καὶ μονῳδήσοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦδε τ' ἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροὺς σοφίᾳ λόγων, ἰσχυροτέρους τὴν φρόνησιν, τῷ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὑπερκεῖσθαι παντὸς ἐπαίνου τὸν εὐφημούμενον, χωρὶς δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων, αὐτὸ τὸ μέσαις ὀλολυγαῖς ἑστάναι καὶ δάκρυσι μὲν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, δάκρυσι δὲ τοῖς τῶν πάντων δεινῶς μοι παρασύρεσθαι τὸν νοῦν, θρηνοῦντι μὲν ἀδελφόν, θρηνοῦντι δὲ φίλον, θρηνοῦντι δὲ μαθητήν, θρηνοῦντι δὲ παῖδα (εἰ καὶ κατά τινας καιροὺς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐδείκνυ καὶ διδασκάλου καίτοι νεώτερος ὤν), τίν' οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσειε ταραχῆς καὶ ἀμβλυτέραν ἐργάσαιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, εἰ δή τις ἦν ὁ λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῶν πάλαι ὑμνουμένων εἰς λόγων δύναμιν; πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔχοιμι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις, ὡς ἂν βουλοίμην; Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ πενθοῦντες, μηδὲ ἐπιτρέψειν ὅλως βαδίζειν, εἴ γε ἦν ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ μεταβῆναι μικρὸν τοῦ τάφου πρὶν ἢ τιμήσαιμι λόγῳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἅτε δὴ λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων
φανέντα. Συνέχει γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ συνωθεῖ ἅπαν δίκαιον, ὥστ' [79]
ἐγὼ μὲν ἕψομαι τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ ἐρῶ τι καὶ πενθήσω μετ' ἐγκωμίων τὸν ἐμέ τε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἀλήκτῳ πένθει καταλιπόντα, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντως οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσαιμι· πολλοῖς τοῦτο τεκμαίρομαι.

Προτρέπει μὲν οὖν ὁ νόμος τῶν ἐγκωμίων τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην αὐτὸν δηλῶσαι, τὸ δ' ὑπερέχον τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέρλαμπρον καὶ σεμνὸν οὐκ ἀναγκάζει τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον· τὰς γὰρ πατρίδας τῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τοῦτο μνημονεύειν, οἶμαι, τετάχθαι, ἵν' ἢ διὰ τὴν ῥίζαν κοσμήσαιμεν τἀκεῖθεν ἢ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν, νυνὶ δὲ οὐδέτερον τοῖνδε τόπον ἂν σχοίη· ἥ τε γὰρ πατρὶς καλλίων τῶν θαυμαζομένων πόλεων ἁπασῶν καὶ οὐ δεῖταί
γε προσθήκης εἰς εὐδοξίαν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τὴν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ [81]
ὅσον προὔχει τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἁπασῶν εἰς πᾶν ἀσύγκριτον ἀγαθόν,
f.258 ἐκεῖνος | τε ὃν ἤνεγκεν εὖ ποιοῦσα οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων τῶν διὰ παντὸς ὑμνουμένων τοῦ χρόνου, ὥστ' ἀπὸ τῶν τρόπων μᾶλλον λαμπρὸς ἢ τῆς καλλίστης πατρίδος. Τίνα γὰρ καὶ λέληθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, ὡς δεῖσθαι γνώριμος αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι διὰ τὴν πατρίδα· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'

ὥσπερ ἐκείνη τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐνεγκαμένη γνώριμον τοῖς πᾶσι [83,1]
κατέστησε, τὸν ἴσον τρόπον δι' αὐτὸν γνωριμωτέρα καὶ ἥδε γίγνεται
τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς ἀνθρώποις. Ὅσοις μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἡ πατρὶς
(οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρίστων φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν), πᾶσι δὲ αὖ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ
δὴ καὶ ἡ πατρίς. Πλὴν τὰ πάντα λογιστέον τῇ ῥίζῃ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
λαμπροτέρα καθίσταταί τις πατρὶς γενναῖον ἐνεγκαμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῦτο παρ' αὐτῆς ἐξελθὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνατρέχει οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε,
φασίν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ βαδίζον. Τοσαῦτα γε ἡμῖν περὶ τούτου.

Γονέας δὲ καὶ τὴν σειρὰν ὅθεν τὸ γένος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂν σὺν τῷ καιρῷ [83,31]
καταλέγοιμι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἦρχον ἐκεῖνοι νόμῳ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ
μακρᾷ διαδοχῇ ταυτησὶ τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως, ἣ δὴ πάντων ἦρχεν
ἑξῆς τερμάτων. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ τρόπαια τἀκείνων καὶ κατορθώματα
ἀμαυροῦντα τὰ τῶν πάλαι τῇ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἀστραπῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον γε [85,1]
αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἡλίκος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικτέον ἡμῖν
ἐστιν. Ἀρκέσει γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ εἰς εὐδοξίαν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς φύσασιν,
εἰ καὶ τἀκείνων ἤρκεσεν ἂν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἅπασιν εἰς
ἰδίαν εὔκλειαν.

Ἐτράφη μὲν βασιλικῶς, ἐκ παίδων δὲ ἐδείκνυ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, [85,21]
μᾶλλον δὲ ἅμα τῷ φῦναι πᾶσιν ἐδίδου μαντεύεσθαι ὅστις ἂν εἴη
προϊών, ὡς ἄρα πάντη βέλτιστος πατρίδι καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ φίλοις καὶ
ὅλως οἷς συγγένοιτ' ἂν καὶ μεταδοίη τῆς ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος. Καὶ
μὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν μάθησιν οὕτω δεξιῶς εἶχε καὶ μετ' ὀξύτητος
ἔτρεχεν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τῶν παιδοτρίβων
καὶ τῶν ὁτιοῦν χρηστὸν ἐπιτήδευμα διδασκόντων ὑπερφυῶς ὑπερή-
λαυνεν. Ὅθεν τούτους συνεχῶς παραμείβων ἐζήτει τὸν διδάξοντά τι
καινότερον, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶν λαμβάνων ὅπερ ἂν εἶχον διδόναι. Καὶ ἦν
τὰς ἡλικίας σαφῶς ἐλέγχων, ὕλην οὐ τὸν χρόνον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τήνδε μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἐκεῖνον, ὥσθ' ὅπερ τις τῶν
ποιητῶν ἐδίδαξε τῇ γλώττῃ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου διαφέρειν τοσοῦτον
ὅσον αἰετοὶ κοράκων, αὐτὸς ἔργῳ ἔδειξε τῷ πεφυκότι τοὺς ἡλικιώτας [87]
f.258v παρε| νεγκὼν ὅσον οὐδ' ἐδίδου τούτοις ἐρίζειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἁμιλλω-
μένους. Παῖς γὰρ ὢν ἔτι τὰ τῶν μειρακίων ἐξήσκει καὶ αὖ ἐν τοῖσδε
τὰ νεανίσκων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ὅλως τὰ τῆς
κρείττονος ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων
φθάνων ἦν αἰεὶ τὸ δέον ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ φρενῶν ὀξύτητι.
Ἦν μὲν γονεῦσιν ἡδύς, ἦν δὲ ἀδελφοῖς, ἦν δ' ἑταίροις, ἦν δὲ
πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, ἥλιξί τε καὶ πρεσβύταις καὶ ὅλως πᾶσιν ἐν
ὅλοις, παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ συμπτώματι.

Καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτον ὑπερνικῶν ἦν κἂν ταῖς γυμνασίαις κἂν ταῖς
ἁμίλλαις κἂν ἅπασιν, ὡς μηδὲ δεῖσθαι παραβεβλῆσθαι. Οὔκουν γ'

ἐφθονεῖτο τοιοῦτος ὤν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ τῶν ἁπάντων μετὰ τοσαύτης ὑπερβολῆς, ὁπόσης, οἶμαι, τὸ νικῶν ἦν· ἦν δ᾽ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἀφιγμένον. Τὸ γοῦν πολὺ θαυμαζόμενον πολὺ φιλεῖσθαι δέον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ σφόδρα φιλητόν, πῶς ἂν εὐδοκιμοῦν φθονηθείη; Ὥσθ᾽ ὁ φθόνος μὲν ἀπῆν, ὁπότε γέ τις ἡττῷτο, προσῆν δὲ φίλτρου προσθήκη τῷ περὶ ἐκεῖνον συμβαίνουσα θαύματι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου πλεονεκτήμασι πάντες ἔχαιρον, ἀδυνατοῦντος τοῦ φθόνου δρᾶν ὅπερ ἐπεφύκει.

Ὢν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὕστατος πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐδενὸς ἦν ὕστερος ἐφ᾽ οἷς τις ἂν ἐφιλεῖτο θαυμαζόμενος. Οὐ γὰρ νουνεχής; οὐ γὰρ δίκαιος; οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος ἐν ἅπασι φοβεροῖς; οὐ τῶν πλειόνων ἡδονῶν (οὐ γὰρ ὑπεράνθρωπον ἦν, ὥστε συνεχῶς κρατεῖν ἁπασῶν) [89] ὑπερορῶν παντάπασιν ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐγκρατευόμενος καὶ ῥαθυμίαις ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐκδεδωκώς; οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μέτριος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής; οὐ βαρὺς δέ, οὐδ᾽ ἀφόρητος, οὐδὲ δούλοις ὠνητοῖς; οὐκ ἐμβριθὴς καὶ ἤπιος; οὐκ οἰκονομικός τε καὶ μεγαλόψυχος; οὐ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα; οὐ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ποτε τύχης αὐτομολησάσης πρὸς τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐναντίους (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ᾽κείνῃ σύνηθες) οὗτος αὐτὸς ἄτρεπτος ἦν, αὐτῷ δὲ αὖθις ἐπανελθούσης (ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο πολὺ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ) οὐδαμῶς μέγα φρονῶν; Καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς νίκαις ἄτυφος, εὔριπον τὸν βίον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ τὸ μέλλον δεδιώς, ἐν δὲ ἥτταις ἄπτωτος, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἀήττητος, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς οἱ μηδαμῶς ὑποπεπτωκυίας. Οἶδε κεραννύναι τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τἀναντία διορθοῦσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Οἶδε μηδὲν ὂν
f.259 βέβαιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγ | μάτων καὶ τὴν τύχην χαίρουσαν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα εὐπλοῶν προσεδόκα μὲν τρικυμίαν, ἐλογίζετο δὲ ζάλην καὶ πρὸς ταραχὴν αὑτὸν ἑτοιμάζων, ἐπελθούσης οὐκ ἐταράττετο, ἐπεὶ κἂν μέσαις δυσηνεμίαις ἀπειλούντων τῶν κυμάτων ὑπερσχήσειν αὐτίκα μάλα οὗτος οὐκ ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ἐλπίζων συχνὴν γαλήνην.

Ὅθεν πάντα μὲν ἔφερεν, οὐ ποιῶν, οὐ λογιζόμενος, οὐ λέγων [91] ταπεινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγεννές· ἐν οὐδενὶ δὲ τὴν ὀφρὺν ἦρεν οὐδέ τι ῥῆμα κόμπου προήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄλλος ἔλεγε περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ βελτίω, ὅδ᾽ ἠρυθρία τε εὐθὺς καὶ μετέβαλεν ἐπίτηδες τὸν λόγον ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα. Τηρεῖν μὲν ἔγνω τὸ σχῆμα μάλα γνησίως, φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἄθραυστον ὅλως, μηδὲν προπετὲς πράττειν, μηδὲν τῶν ἀνιᾶν πεφυκότων, ἀλλὰ μιγνύναι πᾶσιν αὑτὸν ἄλυπον, εἰ μή τις ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου ποιμένος ἀπεσοβεῖτο λύκος ἐπὶ ποίμνην ἁλλόμενος, δίκην μὲν βραδέως λαμβάνειν καί που καὶ παραδραμεῖν δόξαν ἄμεινον. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν δήπου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νωθρός τις ἄγαν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ βραβεῖα παρέχειν παντελῶς ἀκάθεκτος, Νεῖλος ἅπαντας ἄρδων τοῖς παρ᾽

ἑαυτοῦ νάμασιν. Οἶδε τῷ μέσῳ τῶν καλῶν ἄκρως ἐπιτυγχάνειν, τὰς δὲ ἀκρότητας μὴ προσίεσθαι· τουτοισὶ γὰρ δήπουθεν κίνδυνον μυρίον ἐπικρέμασθαι. Ἠγάπα τετριμμένην βαδίζων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν ἅπασι ζητῶν, κινδύνους δὲ ἐδέχετο, ὅτ᾽ οὐκ ἐξῆν διαφυγεῖν μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου. Ἐπιεικής τις ἄγαν ἦν; οὗτος δὲ τί, οὐ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερβολῆς; θυμοῦ κρατῶν ἕτερος; καὶ μὴν ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτιμησόμεθα μᾶλλον εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων. Γλῶττα πολλοῖς μὲν γέγονεν ἀγαθή, τούτῳ δὲ ὡς μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἀπειθεῖν φθεγγομένῳ. Ἡμέρου καὶ τῷ μειδιάματι ἀδίκως ἀγριαίνοντα· τῇ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς δυνάμει χρησάμενος ἐδείκνυ ἂν φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν ὠμότητα τὴν πολλήν· ἦν γὰρ ἀστεῖος, ἦν ἥδιστος, προσηνής, μειλίχιος, πάσαις ταῖς χάρισι κεκραμένος, ὅλος μὲν ἔντορνος, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν παρέχειν λαβὴν εἰς μῶμον, ὅλος δὲ εὔληπτος τοῖς αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐθέλουσιν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καλῶν ἔργων. Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ [93] πρέπειν αὐτῷ τοῖς μὲν κακοήθεσι καὶ διεστραμμένοις ἀνθρώποις παντελῶς ἀχείρωτος εἶναι, εὐχερὴς δὲ ἀγαθοῖς εἰς ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοὶ
f.259v νεύσαιεν. Καὶ μὴν τῶν συμπιπτόντων| αὐτῷ δεινῶν (πολλῶν δ᾽ αὐτὸς πεπείραται καὶ μεγάλων· τοῖς γὰρ μεγίστοις αἱ δοκιμαί) κρείττων οὐ σμικρῶς ὤφθη, τῶν δὲ καιρῶν μεταβαλλομένων ἐκεῖνος ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν, ὃ δὴ σπάνιον ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

Τὸν ἄνδρα τοίνυν τοῦτον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὃς ἂν ἀνδριάντα φαίη ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἀπεξεσμένον οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι, ἀφορῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν καλῶν ἀμετάβλητον. Ὅτι δὲ τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἷον ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν ἔδειξε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἦν τοιοῦτος ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ βελτίων, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξεν οἷς τε ἔπραττεν, οἷς τε ἔφερε διὰ βίου σχεδὸν παντός, μᾶλλον δὲ οἷς ἔπραττε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάσχειν καὶ αὖθις οἷς ὑφίστατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράττειν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠμέλει τῶν δεόντων οὐδεπώποτε, οὐδ᾽ ὤφθη γέ ποτε ῥαθυμῶν ἢ διαχεόμενος οὔτ᾽ ἐν εὐθυμίαις, οὔτε ἐν ἑορταῖς, οὐκ ἐν παιδιαῖς, οὐκ ἐν θήρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Οὐδ᾽ ἦν ἀργῶν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις καὶ σκυθρωποῖς τισι πράγμασιν, οὔμενουν οὐδ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μάλα νοσεῖν, ὡς μηδὲν τοῦ χρόνου μάτην ἀναλίσκοιτο, οὗ τὸ παρελθὸν ἀμήχανον πάλιν εὑρεῖν.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ «μέτρον ἄριστον» καὶ τὸ «μηδὲν ἄγαν» καὶ τὸ «μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ πάντα πράττειν» καὶ πάντας μὲν γνησίως μετέρχεσθαι, οὐ [95] μὴν πρὸς βλάβην χαρίζεσθαι δι᾽ ὅτι ποτ᾽ οὖν τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ὅλως ὅσα περ ἄν τις ἔχοι λαβεῖν τῶν θαυμαζομένων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἰδίαν παίδευσιν, ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐράνου συλλέξας ποιῶν διατετέλεκεν, ὥστε ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἕν που τούτων εἴρηκεν, οὗτος δὲ πάντα ἔπραξεν· οὕτω τοῖς ὅλοις ἐνίκα. Ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτον δεξιὸς καὶ οὕτω ταῖς ἁπάντων συμβαίνων γνώμαις, ὅσον γε πολλάκις ἔχειν

εὐχαριστοῦντας τοὺς ἐπαγγέλοντας κἂν μὴ λάβοιεν ἤπερ ἄλλοι τοὺς [95] λαβόντας ὧν ἐπεθύμουν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ δόντα μηδὲν εὐφρᾶναι καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖθις εὑρεῖν. Ἦν μὲν κοινωνικώτατος ἅπασιν, ἦν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις χαριέστατος καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤθους ἐλεύθερον οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι λυμαινόμενος. Ὑπῆρχε γὰρ πληρέστατος ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἐπιστήμης εἴς τε τὰ πολιτικὰ ἤθη, εἴς τε τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐξήρκει γε συνεῖναι καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστοις πρός τρόπου καὶ αὖθις πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν διαχεῖσθαι αἰεὶ τὰ κυριώτερα προὔργου τίθεσθαι.

Οὕτω τοίνυν φύσεως ἔχων καὶ προαιρέσεως, παιδεύσεώς τε καὶ δεξιότητος ὑπῆρχε μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πατράσι καλῶς πληρῶν ἃ δὴ
f.260 πατέρες εὔξαιντ' | ἂν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἴσχειν, ὑπῆρχε δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐρασμιώτατος· ἦν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι λιμὴν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀγαθῶν πρύτανις. Ταῦτα καὶ δυσμενεστάτους ἀνέπειθε σπονδῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως τύχοιεν, καὶ τυχόντας πάντα πράττειν, ὥστ' ἐπιμεῖναι τῷ πράγματι. Αἴτιον δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς δι' ὃν ὠρρώδουν οὕς γε ἐφόβουν οἱ διὰ τὴν τύχην
πραγμάτων (καὶ γὰρ ἀντέστραπται παντελῶς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἤνθει, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων κατερρύηκε), χρεὼν ἦν δήπου κἀκείνους μεταβαλλόντας συμφέρεσθαι τούτοις.
πρὶν ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε· καὶ ἦγον ταύτην ἑορτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τις παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἧκε βραχύ τι γράμμα κομίζων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπήγγελλέ τι (οὕτω δ' ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς, ὡς μᾶλλόν γε προστάττειν ἢ ἐπαγγέλλειν), ἐπῆδων οἱ δεχόμενοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τεκμήριον ἡγούμενοι εἰρήνης τὸ πραχθέν, ἣν οὐκ ἠγάπων δι'
τῷ δὲ μὴ διαφθαρῆναι ταύτης ἀπούσης, ὅπερ ἐναντίως πρόσθεν ἐνόμιζον. Οὕτως ἀρετὴ κρείττων τύχης, ἧς ἕνεκα οἱ δυσμενεῖς [97] ἀλαζονευόμενοι ἔπειτα τῶν ἐλπίδων ψευσθέντες τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ, γέλωτα προσώφλησαν οὐ σμικρόν.

Ταῦτα γενικώτατα ἡμῖν εἴρηται καὶ νομίζομεν καλῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι τὴν τοῦδε φύσιν ὡς ἦν ἀξία πολλῶν ἐπαίνων. Εἰ δὲ προσδεῖ καὶ μερικωτέρων, λέξων ἔρχομαι κατ' ἐπιτομὴν ὅσον οἷόν τε. Τὸ γὰρ δὴ λέγειν ἐκτάδην τὰ εἰργασμένα τῷ μακαρίτῃ, τοῖς ἔργον ἔχουσιν ἱστορεῖν ἄμεινον ἂν γένοιτο πράττειν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντα καταλέξομεν, ὅσαπερ ἐκείνῳ διεπράττετο διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων εἴργει πρὸς

16. ὠρώδουν: ὠρρώδουν

ἕκαστον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ συγχωρεῖ διαζωγραφεῖν ἑξῆς ἅπαντα· οὐ γὰρ εὐαρίθμητα πάντως. Οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἅτινα πάντως ἐκείνῳ σύνιστε πεπραγμένα, ὃς πρὸ μικροῦ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἦν, νυνὶ δὲ γέγονε, φεῦ, τῶνδε τῶν θρήνων ὑπόθεσις, ὀλίγα λέξομεν ἤδη, τοιαῦτα μέντοι γε πάντως οἷά περ δείξει τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀληθῆ καρπὸν ὄντα τῇ κοινῇ ταύτῃ φύσει καί τινα φιλοτιμίαν ἐξαίρετον. Οἶμαι δὲ τοῦτο ὑμῖν μὴ ἂν εἶναι πρὸς γνώμην, λέγω τὸ μὴ τἀκείνου πάντα λέξειν ἑξῆς. Ἐπιθυμεῖτε γὰρ f.260v ὑμεῖς, εὖ οἶδα τοῦτο καὶ πάνυ πέπεισμαι, δεῖξαι | ὥσπερ ἐν πίνακι μορφὴν τινὸς γεγραμμένην τὸν βίον τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ὡς ὅλον ὄντα θαύματος ἄξιον. Δόξομεν δ᾽ ἴσως καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὸν τῶν ἔργων ἀρχιτέκτονα, εἰ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐξείποιμεν ὅσον ἐκείνῳ κατείργαστο. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμῖν συμφωνῶν ὅσα γε πρὸς μόνον τὸ θέλειν, εἶτα παραιτήσομαι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος πρόσαντες, εἰ μὴ δυναίμην ἀκολουθῶν τῇ θελήσει. Νικᾷ γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀτεχνῶς τὸ παρὸν ἐγχείρημα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχὺν οὖσάν γε καὶ οἴκοθεν ἀδρανῆ καὶ πλέον γινομένην ἐξίτηλον καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι καὶ τῷ τοῦ λόγου σχήματι. Οὐ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο νομιστέον ἡμῖν ἂν εἴη τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἔλαττον σχήσειν εἰς εὐδοξίαν. Τὸ γὰρ περιὸν ἐκείνου τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνδέον ἀναπληρώσει. Ἀρκέσει γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἔργων τῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς μηδὲν ὂν τῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ὃ μὴ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν ἄξιον, εἰ μή τις μειρακιωδῶς ἔχων ἐπιπολῆς τι θεάσαιτο. [99] Κἀκεῖνο δ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι πολλάκις κἀκ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἁπλουστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων, εἴ γέ ἐστι καίρια, οὐχ ἧττον φύσις γνωρίζεται ἢ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἔργων οὑτωσὶ στοιχηδὸν λεγομένων. Λέγω δὲ καίρια εἶναι ὅσαπέρ ἐστι δηλωτικὰ φυσικῶν ἰδιωμάτων, δι᾽ ἅ τις ἔχει ψυχὴν εἰδέναι ἐρῶσαν ἀγαθὴν εἶναι. Ὅθεν ἀνθέξομαι τῆς [259,*22*] βουλῆς μὴ πραγμάτων πέλαγος μετρεῖν πειρώμενος ταῖς κοτύλαις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ ποταμοῦ μεγίστου δοὺς ὑμῖν γεύσασθαι, ὡς ἂν τὸ πότιμον ἐκείνου καὶ διειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους γένοιτο δῆλον.

Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ πᾶσαν γλῶτταν πειρωμένην αὐτὸν [99,*8*] ἐπαινεῖν εἴσω πίπτουσαν ἀποφαίνων καὶ περιὼν ἔτι καὶ νῦν μεταστάς, παῖς ὢν ἀρίστῳ βασιλεῖ πολύ τι τοῖς υἱέσι δεικνύντι φίλτρον ὥσπερ ἁμιλλώμενος ἦν αὐτῷ μηδαμῶς εἰς τὸ φιλεῖν κατόπιν αὐτοῦ λειφθῆναι. Ὅθεν θαυμάζων καὶ φιλῶν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος Ἀλέξανδρον, πάντα μὲν ἡδέως τἀκείνου καὶ ἀκούων ἦν καὶ λέγων ὁπότ᾽ ἐξῆν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς Φιλίππου πρὸς αὐτόν ποτε εἰρηκότος «φιλῶ σε σφόδρα, ὦ παῖ» τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν «κἀγὼ φιλήσω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ, πάτερ»· τοῦτο δὲ ἐκεῖνον φάναι τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὐδ᾽ ὁπωστιοῦν ἠξίου, οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερεν, ἀλλ᾽ ᾐσχύνετο διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φιλίαν· οὐ γὰρ

παραιτήσεται τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰρηκέναι, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὸν ἀληθεύοντα, «κἀγώ σε, πάτερ» εἰπεῖν «φιλῶ καὶ φιλήσω γε ἀεὶ καὶ οὐ παραχωρήσω σοι ῥᾳδίως τῶν πρωτείων ἐν τῷ φιλεῖν, f.261 δίκαια πράττειν ἐθέλων, τοῦτο μὲν τὸ εἶναι ἔχων παρὰ σοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ σφόδρα φιλεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολελαυκέναι καὶ ἠλπικέναι λήψεσθαι μείζω μηδενὸς π νου παρ᾿ ἐμοῦ». Εἶχε μὲν οὕτως αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· εἶχε δὲ ὁμοίως τὰ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα. Ὢν γὰρ πρὸς πάντα μέτριος καὶ μηδαμοῦ δύσερις, εἰς τὸ ἐρᾶν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀποδιδόναι, κρατεῖν ἁπάντων ἐφιλονείκει καὶ ῥᾷστα ἂν ἀφῆκε καὶ τὸ ζῆν, ὅπως τὸ φίλτρον ἐνδείξηται. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων, δι᾿ ὧν ἂν ἔχοιμι τἀληθὲς φανεροῦν, δυοῖν γε μόνον μνησθεὶς αὐτίκα τὸ πᾶν ἐπιδείξομαι, καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα συνεσταλμένως ἐρῶ πολλῶν ἕνεκα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως γε ἡμῖν οὐ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ὁ λόγος.

Ἦν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δυστυχίας ἡμῖν ἐς ἄκρον [101] ἐληλακότα. Καὶ τοίνυν τοῦ μὲν ἄστεος ἤδη κατειλημμένου, τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως μονονουχὶ προκαλουμένης τοὺς ληψομένους, τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς περσικῆς προσπελασάσης τῷ τείχει, ὀμνύντος μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὀμνύντων δὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἐκεῖνον σῶν εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ παραπέμψειν ἀρχὴν —ἦν δὲ ἡ μητρόπολις Μακεδονίας καὶ πόλεις ἄλλαι— ὅ τε πατήρ, ἥ τε μήτηρ κἀγὼ καὶ οἷς ἐμέλησε περὶ ἐκείνου βουλεύσασθαι, συνευδοκοῦμεν τῇ πράξει, ὄντος δὲ ἐν χεροῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπειτα μετάμελος ἧκε τῷ πατρί· ἦν δὲ αἴτιος ἐγὼ μηδαμῶς βουλόμενος εἶναι. Συνέβη δὲ ὡδί. Τετρωμένον με τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὼ πόδε εἶχεν ἀνακείμενον ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ διέμενεν ἀτρέμας, μηδαμῶς κινῶν τὸ σῶμα, οἴκτῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὐμόν· ἔγνω γὰρ ὡς κινηθεὶς ὀδύνην προξενήσει με ταῖς πληγαῖς. Ὢν δὲ δυσαπόσπαστος διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν, ἔμενεν ἐπιμελόμενός μου δακρύων. Οὐ γὰρ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερε τὸν ἐμὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ τὸν ἐκείνου φέροντος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη κέκρυπται, ἡμεῖς δ᾿ ἐν ζῶσιν ἔτι φαινόμεθα καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν ἀνεχόμεθα, ἐκείνου δύντος ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὃς ἦν ἡδίων ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἀκτῖνος. ᾿Εν δὴ τῷ μέλλειν ἐκεῖνον τῇδε ἧκέ τις ἀγγέλλων πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ μεταμέλοιτο δεδιὼς περὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἂν ὁ δρασμὸς ὑποπτευθῇ γεγενῆσθαι τῇ ᾿κείνου γνώμῃ. Καὶ ὃς μαθὼν ὑπ᾿ ἐμοῦ, μήτε τοῦ πείσοντος δεηθείς, μήτε παρακλήτορας ἀναμείνας ἢ τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς τῆς εἰς [103] πᾶν δεινὸν ἀπαγούσης, οὐδὲ γοῦν τὴν ἡμετέραν βουλὴν εἰς τοῦτο f.261v μόνον ζητήσας ἢ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς φωνήν,| πάντων οὖσαν ἰσχυροτέραν υἱέσιν ἃ δεῖ πράττουσι, τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς βούλημα τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς προὔθηκεν. ᾿Εκάθητο δὴ κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας καί τινα

ἀπάνθρωπον δήμιον φανταζόμενος, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίει κύριος ὢν πάσης προσδοκίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἣν ὁ δυστυχὴς ἐκεῖνος χρόνος ἡμῖν ἐπέσειε πολλαχόθεν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ τεύξεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερώσειν ἐλπίζων, εἴ γε ἔξω γένοιτο δεσμῶν. Ὅδ' εἵλετο συγκαθειρχθῆναι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εἱρκτήν, καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν οὖσαν θάνατον τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ διαμένουσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους προσαπειλοῦσαν. Ὥστε γνώμῃ τέθνηκε διὰ τὴν πατρὸς ὑποψίαν, πρὸς ἣν ἂν εἶχε μυρία λέγειν, εἴ γε ἐβούλετο παραιτεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τἀναντία τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγοντες, οἷς γε καὶ αὐτὸς συνεστοίχουν. Ὄντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκτὸς τί οὐκ ἂν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πράξαι; Ἕξουσι μὲν γὰρ αἱ νύκτες ἐναγρυπνοῦντα ταῖς βουλαῖς, αἷς ἂν ἡμᾶς ῥύσαιτο, ἕξουσι δὲ ὄρθροι ἐπιχειροῦντα ἅπασι τοῖς δόξασι νύκτωρ, φροντιοῦντά τε τὸ δέον καὶ ὅπως τέλος σχοίη τὸ δόξαν, πάντα ποιοῦντα, ὑπισχνούμενον, ἐγγυώμενον, ὀμνύντα πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἀμύνειν, μηδὲν ἐῶντα τῶν συνοισόντων. Τὴν δὲ δὴ βοήθειαν, ἣ προσῆν ἂν πάντως ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα ἀπειλεῖν, εἴ τις τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῖν ἅψαιτο, ποῦ τις ἂν θείη; Ἦ που γε οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν αὐτῇ παραπλήσιον εἰς τὸ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῖν συντηρῆσαι; Εἰ γοῦν ὑπὲρ ὑποψίας τοιαύτης προὔλαβε καὶ νεῦμα πατρός, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐτεθνήκει, πόσους ἂν θανάτους οὐχ ὑπήνεγκεν, ὥστε προφανοῦς αὐτὸν ῥύσασθαι; Οὐ ζηλωτὴς Ἰσαάκ, οὐ [105]
τοῦ Σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν. Τύπος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὑπογραμμὸς πρόκειται, καὶ εἴη ἂν χάριεν τῷ 'κείνου Πατρί, εἴ τις ζηλώσειε τὸν Υἱόν. Ὢν δὲ περὶ τοὺς γονέας τοιοῦτος, ἄλλος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνεφάνη; Οὐδαμῶς. Καὶ γὰρ οἰκοῦσι τὴν φρουρὰν δυσὶν ἔτεσι καὶ πρός, πολλὰ νοσήμαθ' ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηψε καὶ ἐκώμαζε πικρὸν ἄχρι βάθους εἰσδυόμενα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλπίζειν οὐκ ἦν λυθήσεσθαι ὅσα γε εἰς λογισμοὺς ἥκει, κατηνάγκαζε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ αὐτὴν μισεῖν τὴν ζωήν, οὕτω λυπηρὰν οὖσαν.

Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖσιν ἧκέ τις παραμυθία πρὸς θεοῦ· ἥδ' ἦν - τὸν δὲ τρόπον σιωπῶ, παρέλκον ὄν γε ῥηθῆναι - αὐτὸν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ συνθηκῶν τινων βεβαιουμένων δόλῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μηδέν τι τὸ παράπαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι, ἐξεῖναι δὲ
f.262 αὐτῷ καταλλαγῆς ἕνεκα, ἀδεῶς ἀνενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τε | καὶ ἀδελφῷ πᾶν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. Τοῦτό γε εὐθὺς ἀκουσθὲν ἐμοὶ ἐποίει ῥᾷον διακεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἄχθεσθαι τῷ μόνον καταλειφθῆναι, ὅσον τῆς λύπης κουφίζεσθαι τῷ 'κεῖνον ἀναβιῶναι, λέγω δὴ τῷ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξιέναι. Καὶ ἐλογιζόμην αὐτὸν (τρέχει γὰρ ἡ

37. γνωμικὸν mg.

φαντασία ἐφ' ἅ τις λίαν ἐπιθυμεῖ) ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ νέοις πρέποντα μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκων δρᾶν ἐν ὅπλων γυμνασίαις, ἐν θήραις, ἐν ἀγῶσι χορηγοῦσι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι σώμασι ῥώμην καὶ ὑγίειαν καὶ τῷ μετὰ δόξης βιῶναι. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολῶν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδόκουν βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἆθλά τε δεχόμενον καὶ κεφαλὴν στεφανούμενον καὶ νικητὴν κηρυττόμενον καὶ γὰρ πολὺ τὸ συγκεχωρηκὸς ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν τότε νέων· καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν ἐν ἅπασι, τοῦτο οἱ συνεκεκλήρωτο. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ εὐφρόσυνα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐπελαν- [107] θανόμην ὡς οἷόν τε τῶν ἀνιαρῶν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ κλάειν ἐποίει τὴν ἐμὴν οὐ φέροντι μόνωσιν. Ἄλλως τε κἀκεῖνο προσῆγχεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐντεθραμμένῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φόβῳ, ὑπεριδόντι τοὺς ὅρκους μετὰ δόλου βοηθεῖν. Πόθεν; ᾧ μηδὲν ἀπατηλὸν μηδὲ παλινάγρετον ὅ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατένευσε καὶ τὸ ὅλως ἀμελεῖν δόξαι, ὧν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν οὐδὲν ἦγε βελτίω, οὔμενουν ὑπέμενε τὸ παράπαν. Ἦν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον, ὅσον εὐλαβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς οὐ δικαίαν ἐξοίσοντας ψῆφον. Ἐναντίας τοίνυν οὔσης ἡμῖν τῆς θελήσεως, ὀψὲ καὶ μόγις αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισα, τὰ μὲν δεικνὺς ὡς βέλτιον ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ πατρί, οὐκ ὄντι μεθ' ἡμῶν τηνικαῦτα, τοσοῦτον ὄντα μέλος ἡμῶν εὔνοις τε καὶ δυσμενέσιν συνεῖναι καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέρους διαπράττεσθαι τὰ εἰκότα εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν βοήθειαν ἀφορῶντα, τὰ δὲ ὀμνὺς ὡς ἐμαυτοῦ πως αἰσθάνομαι πειρασομένου δεινῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἢν τηνάλως ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος προδῷ ἀπειθήσας παραινοῦντι. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος οὐ κατεδέχετο οὐδὲ γοῦν ψευδῆ τινα δόξαν τῶν οὐ καλῶν προστριβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐδεδίει ψῆφον ἀπᾴδουσαν τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσεως καὶ γνώμης καὶ παιδείας. Οὕτω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀδελφικῶς εἶχεν, ὡς βέλτιον ἄγειν συνεῖναί μοι τοῦ μεθ' ἑτέρων τρυφᾶν ἐξεῖναι· καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ δεσμωτήριον τῶν βασιλείων λαμπρότερον καὶ σκότος ποθεινότερον τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντα ἡδίω τὰ f.262v μετ' ἐμοῦ, κἂν εἴη δεινά, τῶν γε ἡδέων ἐκείνων ὧν| οὐκ ἂν μετεῖχον αὐτός. Ἀλλ' οὕτω πάλιν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπείθετο δόγμασιν, ὡς ἀρκοῦν εἶναι καὶ νεῦσαι, καὶ δείκνυσιν ἐκεῖνο, ὃ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦ τεθνάναι χαλεπώτερον ἐνόμιζε, λέγω δὴ τὸ κεχωρίσθαι μου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, ἑαυτὸν ἀνέπειθε φέρειν ἐμὴν χάριν καὶ εἶπε πράξειν ὃ θέλοιμι οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ δακρύειν πικρόν. Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ καὶ παράδοξον ἐκείνου κλάοντος εὐθυμεῖν, ὅμως ἔχαιρον, πῶς οἴει, δι' αὐτὸν τὸν κλάοντα, παραμυθίαν τε ἔσεσθαι νομίζων τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρί, καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν τὴν τοῦ παιδός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀναβίωσιν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἦλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα, τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν κρεῖττον τι προβλεψαμένου, ὑπαλλάξω δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ῥητόν, ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς

ἐκεῖνος ἐξέλθῃ. Τὸ γὰρ ταύτην ἀνακόψαν τὴν βουλήν, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἡμῖν αἴτιον τοῦ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀποδρᾶσαι πάντας ὁμοῦ, ὅπερ [109] ἀκριβῶς φράζειν οὔτε προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἦν οὔτ' ἂν εἴη λεχθῆναι σὺν τῷ καιρῷ, ἄλλως θ' ὅτι καὶ περίεργον εἰδόσιν ἅπαντα λέγειν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πρὶν εἴρηται.

Ὅστις μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν πρός τε γονέας καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν συγγένειαν ἑξῆς ἅπασαν δυοῖν γε τοῖνδε τοῖν εἰρημένοιν ἀποδεδεῖχθαί μοι φαίνεται, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα. Μετιτέον δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω, παραδραμούμενον μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων, ὀλίγων δ' αὖ ἀψόμενον, τοιούτων μέντοι ὥστε τὴν ἐκείνου δύνασθαι ἀρετὴν ἅπασι φανεροῦν. Εἶεν γὰρ ἂν οὐ συμπτωμάτων, οὐ τύχης, οὐ καιρῶν ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς ἐναντίοις (ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Σαρδανάπαλον βασιλεύσαντα), ἀλλὰ κατορθώματα ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ συμβιοῦντος. Μείζω γὰρ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα φαίνεται τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὁπόταν ᾖ καὶ πάνυ σμικρά, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πάνυ λαμπρά, ὁπόσον ἄν τις ἐνθυμηθείη. Τὸ γὰρ εὐγενῆ τινα εἶναι καὶ εὐπατρίδην καὶ περιφανείᾳ πολλῇ συζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὄχλοις κομᾶν καὶ πολλῷ περιρρέεσθαι πλούτῳ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἐκείνοις εὐδοκιμεῖν, δι' ὧν τε τρόπαια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἵσταται καὶ οἷς ἂν προσκυνοῖντο οἱ μετέχοντες ἐκ τῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης περάτων, ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀλλοκότοις ἔστιν, ὅτε παραγίνεται, ἀλόγιστα περαίνουσι τὸν αὐτῶν βίον. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος γε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μὲν ἀπιών, ἡμῶν δὲ αὖθις ἐπιμελούμενος, τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ποιῶν ὅπου καὶ μᾶλλον ἔξεστι, τῶν μὲν ἀπηριθμημένων ἑξῆς ἁπάντων| κατεφρόνει τε λαμπρῶς καὶ f.263 οὐδὲν αὐτὰ μέγα ἐνόμιζεν οὐδ' ἠξίου γε πτοεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ καλὸν οἴκοθεν, εἴχετο δὲ ἐπιμελῶς τῶν ὅσα βελτίω ποιήσειεν ἄνδρα [111] καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν φύντα. Οὕτω γὰρ πεπαίδευτο καὶ μεμάθηκεν εὐθὺς τεχθείς, ὡς εἰπεῖν. Ἐπαναληπτέον δὴ τὸ προκείμενον.

Εἶχε τὰ πράγματα κακῶς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἐδόκει δεῖν αὐτὸν ἰέναι παρ' αὐτήν· λῦσαι γὰρ ἂν τὰ δεινὰ ὥσπερ ἀκτὶς ὁμίχλην· καὶ τὸ δόγμα κυρωθὲν τῇ φήμῃ μόνῃ διέδραμε καὶ τοσοῦτον βεβοήθηκε τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅσον οὐκ ἄν τις, οἶμαι, ῥᾳδίως ἐπιδημήσας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων οὕτως ἐκβήσεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μαθὼν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐκβεβηκότα τὰ πράγματα, κέκρικεν ἔτι προσπαραμεῖναι ἕως ἂν πάντα γεγονὼς καὶ διαπραξάμενος ἴδοι μὲν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πατέρα

---

13. κατωρθώματα: κατορθώματα Πελοπονήσῳ: Πελοποννήσῳ passim

ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ὄντα, πραγμάτων μὲν ἀπαλλαγέντα τελείως, γαλήνης δὲ λευκῆς ἀπολαύοντα, ἴδοι δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῆς πατρὶ καὶ ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν οἴκαδε ἐπανελθοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐν ᾗ κατείχοντο παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων, πόρρω δικαίου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρῶ γε πλατύτερον· πολλῶν ἕνεκα.

Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξέβη κατὰ σκοπὸν καὶ πέρας ἔλαβεν ὃ προσῆκε μετὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνδρείαν καὶ γενναιότητα, πολλὴν δ' ἐγρήγορσιν καὶ σπουδήν, πολλὴν δὲ φρόνησιν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν φυσάντων. Μηδὲν οὖν ὅλως παραλιπὼν τῶν ὅσοις ἂν εἶχεν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, αὐτό γε τοῦτ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς φανῆναι, ἔσχεν ὁ μέγας τήν τε Πελοπόννησον, οὐ μᾶλλον κλῆρον δή τινα καὶ μερίδα προσήκουσαν ἢ γέρας δικαιότατον τῆς τε πρὸς γονέας εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἧς ἐπεδείξατο καὶ συλλήβδην τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ συνδεδραμηκέναι ὅσαπερ ἄν τινι φίλον λέγειν, δι' ὧν ἂν ἔχειν δεικνύναι ταύτην δεδόσθαι τῷδε τἀνδρὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ δικαίου. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τήνδε, οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς τῇ προθυμίᾳ ξυμβαίνουσαν, οὔτε μὴν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ [113,l] καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων στενότητι. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἔσχε τὴν Πελοπόννησον, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἐκεῖνον ἔσχεν ἡ Πελοπόννησος, βοηθεῖν μὴ δυναμένη ἀλλὰ βοηθείας αὐτὴ χρῄζουσα, καίτοι κἀκεῖνος τοιοῦτος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ὥστε βοηθείας δεῖσθαι, ψιλὸς f.263ᵛ μὲν| τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξελθών, μηδὲν δὲ δυνηθεὶς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν κτήσασθαι. Λέγω δὲ κτῆσιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀρκοῦντα χρήματα καλῶς ἀναλισκόμενα εἰς τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὅλως ὅπῃ συνοίσει· πλοῦτον γὰρ ὅ τι πολὺν καὶ βαλάντιον ἁδρὸν καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ἀθροιζόμενα κακῶς καὶ χεῖρον φυλαττόμενα, ταῦτα δὲ εἰ ἔρρεεν, οὐ προσέθετο καρδίαν τῷ Δαβὶδ πειθόμενος.

Οὗτος εὐχαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἁπάντων, ἄριστα καὶ πεφραγμένος καὶ ὡπλισμένος προεπέμπετο, αἷς καὶ ἀνετρέφετο καὶ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω προὐχώρει ἐξ ὀνύχων ἁπαλῶν ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. Ταύταις ἀνήγετο, ταύταις [115,l] ἀπέπλει, ἀφεὶς εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ταύταις καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν ἤλπιζε σχήσειν. Οὐδὲν ἢ ἐλογίζετο ἢ τὸ παράπαν εἰργάζετο τούτων ἄνευ· διὸ καὶ πᾶν ἤνυεν, ὥσπερ αὐτομάτων τινῶν δυσκόλων εἰς τοὐναντίον μετενηνεγμένων.

Πάντα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕκαστα φράζειν, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τῶν γειτονούντων Λατίνων αἱ πόλεις αὗται, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ὑφίσταντο κακά, ἐπιόντων μὲν θύραθεν ἵπποις, ἐπιόντων δὲ ναυσὶ ληστρικαῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους, καί τισιν ἡ τοῦ Πέλοπος κατετρίβετο τρόποις, τοῦ μὲν τῆς

μητρὸς ἡμῖν ἀδελφοῦ, ἀρίστου μὲν ὄντος τὴν φύσιν, καλῶς δὲ ἄρχειν εἰδότος, ἤδη τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδί τινι, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, ὄντος μὲν πάνυ χρηστοῦ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπερτέρου καὶ τὸν χρόνον γεραιτέρου, ὑπὸ δὲ παιδὸς θρασέος —δεῖ γὰρ τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν— κωλυομένου ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντων ὁμοῦ φθειρομένων, αὐλητοῦ, φασίν, 'Αραβίου. Τί δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀναξαίνειν ὑμῖν τὰ τραύματα ὥσπερ ὄνυξι χρωμένοις τοῖς διηγήμασιν; Ἄλλως τε καὶ περιέργως ἂν λέγοιντο τὰ πολλά, οἱ γὰρ πεπονθότες ὑμεῖς ἄμεινον τῶν ἀκουσάντων ἡμῶν ἴστε. Πλήν, οὐκ [113,13] ἄνευ θείας νεύσεως καὶ ῥοπῆς, ἀξιώσει μὲν τοῦ πάππου, ἀξιώσει δὲ τοῦ θείου, ἀξιώσει δὲ ὑμετέρα ἧκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ ποθούμενος, γνώμῃ μὲν τῇ τοῦ πατρός, γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ τῆς μητρός, γνώμῃ δὲ ἡμετέρα, καίτοι οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπέσπαστο τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πατρικῶν τε καὶ μητρικῶν, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν, οὐ διὰ τὸ φίλτρον μόνον ἡλίκον ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ δεῖξαι τοῖς φθάσασιν οἷος ἦν ἐκεῖνος βοηθεῖν
f.264 ἐν| χαλεπωτάτοις καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν. 'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἔδει νικῆσαι, ἤδη καὶ νενίκηκε καὶ ἐπέλαμψεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, βίᾳ τῶν φιλούντων ἐκραγεὶς ὑμῶν ἕνεκα. Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ σιωπῶ τὸ τοῖς [115,24] διηγήμασι συνεκτείνεσθαι φεύγων.

Καὶ μὴν αὐτίκα ἀποβὰς καὶ μάλα ἀσμενέστατα ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁπάντων, οὐ προϊὼν ἠμαύρωσε τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔρωτα (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σύνηθες οἶμαι πανταχοῦ γίγνεσθαι), ἀλλ' ἦν λαμπρύνων ἄχρι παντός, ἅπαντας ποιῶν εὖ. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτα [117] καὶ πάντες ἦσαν ἐν ἑορταῖς ἄνευ μέντοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀβελτέρων, ἐκείνων μὲν ἅτε δοκούντων εἴσω σαγήνης ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, μηδὲν τῶν ἔνδον ἐώσης φεύγειν, τούτων δὲ μηδὲν πλέον εἰδότων ἢ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων συμφοραῖς ἐντρυφᾶν, ὄντων καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴσαις, ὅπερ λίαν εὔηθες· χρεὼν γὰρ ὂν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τρέμειν. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἥττους ἤσθιον, ὅσοι τοὺς μείζους διέφυγον, κατὰ τοὺς ἐζωγρημένους ἰχθῦς, οἳ πολλάκις εἴσω κύρτων κατειλημμένοι, τὸ κατ' αὐτούς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ τοὺς βραχυτέρους οἱ μείζους ἐσθίοντες καὶ αὖθις τούτους οἱ μᾶλλον μείζους ἕρμαιον ἡγοῦνται τὸ θήρατρον, ὡς ῥᾷον ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς γαστέρας ἐμπιπλῶντες τροφῆς ἤπερ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πελάγους. Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ φοβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ φρίττειν μεταβαλλόντων, τῶν δὲ κακουργεῖν εἰδότων εἰς χειραμοὺς καταδύντων καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν σκιρτώντων, ὡς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐξὸν ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν, δι' ὧν ἂν εὐπορώτεροι γένοιντο πάντες εἰρήνης σταθερᾶς ἀπολαύοντες, ἢ δὴ κρείττων ἀτεχνῶς καὶ εὐπορίας ἁπάσης, ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτῷ, οὗτινος ἐμνήσθημεν ἔναγχος, πολλοῖς ἐπέθετο τρόποις, Τούρκοις καὶ Λατίνοις ἑαυτὸν μίξας. Εὐθὺς οὖν πάντα

συνέχεεν ἀπὸ γαλήνης αἰγὶς φανείς, οὔπω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω παγιωθέντων. Ἦν δὲ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς φοβερὸς καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἅτε ξένην ἔχων στρατιὰν καὶ τῶν ἐντοπίων πολλοὺς καὶ κατέχων φρούρια ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ δεδομένα καὶ πλὴν τοῦ παρὰ λόγον θρασύνεσθαι καὶ ἀδίκως ἐγχειρεῖν, τ' ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγενὴς ὢν οὐδ' ἀμέτοχος μηχανημάτων καὶ ποικιλίας. Πάντων οὖν ἀπεγνωκότων καὶ συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ φεύγειν ὡς οὐ δοκοῦν δυνατὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην σύρροιαν ἀνθίστασθαι κακῶν, ὁ δὲ τεθνάναι πρόθυμος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὃ μὴ προσῆκε τῷ τε ἑαυτοῦ σχήματι καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ
f.264v ταύτῃ γε| περιφανῶς καταισχῦναι τούς τε γονέας καὶ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ προσέτι τοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντας ἀρετὴν καὶ φύσιν. Ἐπεποίθει δὲ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φυσάντων εὐχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τρόποις τῷ τε ἀδίκως ὑπάρξαι μάχης τοὺς ἐπιόντας καὶ αὐτὸν δικαίως ἀμύνεσθαι. [119]
Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἐπλεονέκτουν.

Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις ἱσταμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ, φασίν, ἡ καλῶς ἰθύνουσα σοφία τόδε τὸ πᾶν καὶ πρυτανεύουσα τὸ συμφέρον ἑκάστῳ τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἐκεῖνον τῶν τῇδε μεταστήσασα οὐκ εἴασε πράττειν τὰ κατὰ νοῦν, ἄλλος δ' ἂν εἶπε τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ δεσπότην ὑμῖν δεσπότην πάσης ἔδειξε τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἔργοις τοὔνομα δεικνύντα καὶ μηδὲν ἢ πράττοντα, ἢ διανοούμενον, ὃ μὴ προσῆκεν ἐπιεικῶς ἄρχοντι. Τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον γεγονὸς σωφρονεῖν ἠνάγκαζε καὶ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας, καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν πάντες ἠλλάξαντο τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ τούτῳ χάριεν, ταὐτὸ δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ θεῷ.

Διαδραμούσης οὖν πανταχοῦ τῆς φήμης, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα θαυμαστὸς τὰ καὶ τὰ εἰργάσατο πᾶσιν ἀγαθά, οὐ ζητῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἑτέρων (τὰ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων οὐ κρύπτεται), συνέρρεον ἔθνη πολλὰ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενα τῶν τε ἐγγυτέρω καὶ πορρωτάτω. Ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ ποθεινὸν καὶ παρελαύνει μαγνῆτιν λίθον ἐφελκομένη τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἐκόμιζε δὴ καὶ ἤπειρος καὶ θάλασσα τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας, καὶ ἦν ἡδύ τι θεάσασθαι τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ γινόμενον. Ὤκουν αἱ ἀοίκητοι καὶ ἄλση κατετέμνετο, ὕλαι τε ἐκαθαίροντο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνημέρων χωρίων, ἅπερ οὐδέσιν ὑπῆρχε χρήσιμα πλὴν λησταῖς, ἡμεροῦτο καὶ ἐδέχετο φυτὸν καὶ παντοδαπὸν σπέρμα, εἴκοντα χερσὶ γηπόνων ἀροῦν εἰδότων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ περὶ μυριάδα ἀθρόοι μετοικίσαντες ἅμα παισί τε καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ θρέμμασι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν κατέλαβον· αὐτοῦ δὲ πήξαντες τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰς

---

27. γνωμικὸν mg. | μαγνῖτιν: μαγνῆτιν

κλισίας ἐκτείναντες αὐτοὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν ἄγγελοι· οὕτως ἐξαίφνης παρεγένοντο. Ἔπειτα διὰ πρεσβείας ἐπυνθάνοντο, μηδαμῶς [121] μελήσαντες τί ποτ' ἂν εἴη τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ παρεδήλουν ὡς βούλονται τοὐνδόσιμον λαβόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσιέναι καὶ μεῖναι καὶ ἅπερ ἂν ὅδε γνοίη πράττειν αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ καὶ δέχεται τὴν πρεσβείαν ἄσμενος καὶ καλεῖ παρ' ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τῶν f.265 ἄλλων. Καὶ φιλοφρο| νησάμενος αὐτοὺς δεξιῶς ἄγαν ἐπισπᾶται τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας· μήτε δ' ὁμήρους λαβών, μήτε ἐγγύας αἰτήσας, ὅρκοις ἠρκέσθη τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν, καίτοι περ οἱ πλείους παρῄνουν - οὐδὲν ἀλόγιστον λέγοντες - μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς δέξασθαι, τό τε πλῆθος δεδιότες καὶ τὸ ἔθεσιν ἑτέροις ἐκείνους ζῆν ὑποπτεύοντες αἴτιον σκανδάλου γενήσεσθαι. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ πιστεύει μέν, οἴκοθεν ἔχων τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι (ὅ γάρ τις ἔχει δίδωσι, καὶ ὅ ἐστι λογίζεται καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἶναι), πείθει δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς, κἂν βουληθεῖεν ἐκεῖνοι κακόν τι δρᾶσαι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δυνηθεῖεν. Ἐξέβη δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζέ τε καὶ ἰσχυρίζετο. Καὶ τοῦτο τρία ταυτὶ προσμαρτυρήσειεν ἂν αὐτῷ, ἀξιοπιστίαν, ἀνδρείαν, φρόνησιν, τῷ πιστεῦσαι, τῷ θαρρῆσαι, τῷ καλῶς στοχάσασθαι. Κτᾶται τοιγαροῦν στρατιὰν τοσαύτην, οὐκ ἄπειρον μὲν τραυμάτων, ἀγαθὴν δὲ τὰ πολέμια. Καὶ τοῦτο δεδρακέναι δεδύνηται μηδὲν προσαναλώσας ἢ τρία ταῦτα, γλώττης δεινότητα, γνώμης καθαρότητα, τρόπων χρηστότητα· χρῆμα ἀκένωτον.

Ἔχων γε τοίνυν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῇ τῆς Πελοποννήσου δυνάμει, ῥᾷον ἤ τις ἂν ἐνόμισεν, εὖ τὰ κατὰ νοῦν διέθετο πάντα. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μικρά τις προσθήκη τὸ πᾶν ἰσχύει πολλάκις, ἡ τοσαύτη μὲν τῷ [123] πλήθει, καλὴ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ, τί οὐκ ἂν ἔδρα; Οὐ γάρ, καίτοι καθ' αὐτοὺς προθύμους τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς στρατιώτας ὄντας, οὐ προσέθετο ποιῆσαι βελτίους, ἀλλ' ἐπηύξησεν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλτρον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ χρηστότερα πάντα, λέγων καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τὰ πρακτέα. Καὶ δηλοῖ τὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένα. Οὐ γὰρ δυσμενῶν εἷλε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν πολιορκήσας τε καὶ παραστησάμενος, τὰς δ' αὐθωρὸν τῷ πολέμῳ, τὰς πλείους δ', οἶμαι, φθάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν βούλησιν καὶ πρὶν ἢ πορθηθῆναι παραδοθείσας; οὐκ ὀρρωδοῦντας ἔδειξε τοὺς δεδιττομένους; οὐ πάντα ταῦτ' εἰργάζετο τοὺς δυσμενεῖς θρασυνομένους ταῖς πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας νίκαις ἐπτοημένους φαίνεσθαι καὶ κατῃσχυμμένους, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ θράσους

13. γνωμικὸν mg.

αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἐφρόνουν πρὸς των; οὐ παρῃτοῦντο; οὐ προσεκύνουν; οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν ἅπαντα μετὰ προσθήκης τὰ ἡρπαγμένα; οὐ φόρους προσεδίδοσαν, οἳ καὶ ὄναρ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες ἀπεπήδων ἂν τῆς κλίνης τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ βληθέντες; οὐ τοῦτο ἥδιον αὐτοῖς ὡς κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττον ἢ τὸ εἰληφέναι f.265v πρόσθεν; | οὐκ ἐδούλευον μεθ' ὅπλων οἵ γε τὸ ληΐζεσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἄνευ ὅπλων ᾤοντο πανηγυρίζειν; Καὶ πρίγκιπος ἀλαζονείαν τὴν πολλήν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλεγχθεῖσαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀκροβατῶν; οὐχ ὑπερνεφῶν; οὐκ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἀφῖκτο ὑπερηφανίας ἁπάσης; Ἀλλ' ὁ τοιοῦτος μὲν τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, τοιοῦτος δὲ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν φαίνοιτο μέγα φρονῶν ἄνθρωπος τοῖς ἔργοις ἄλλος δέδεικται, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ γεγονότος. Ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐντυχών, ὧν τινες ἐφ' ἱππαρίων πονηρῶν, καὶ τότε πρώτως, οἶμαι, γυμνώσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὸ [125] ξίφος, ὁ θρασύς, ὁ γαῦρος, ὁ πολύς, ὁ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων ἐπιὼν καὶ πολλοῖς ὁπλίταις περικυκλούμενός τε καὶ περιστοιχιζόμενος καὶ θαρρῶν πολυχειρίᾳ καὶ σιδηρᾷ φάλαγγι, οὐδὲ συμπλακῆναι καλῶς ὑπέστη, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρῶτος ἐτρέπετο πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς, ὥραν εἶναί οἱ νομίσας ἀντὶ δόρατος καὶ ξίφους κέντροις τε καὶ μάστιγι καταχρήσασθαι. Καὶ τοίνυν ἐς τοὐπίσω ταῖς ἡνίαις τὸν ἵππον στρέψας, δοὺς τὰ νῶτα τοῖς διώξουσιν ἔφευγεν ἕως εἷλε τοῦτόν τις ταῖν χεροῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰχμῇ. Οὗτος δὲ τίς; ὁ στρατηγός; οὐδαμῶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐχρῆτο ταῖν χεροῖν, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν, καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ τῆς Ἀχαΐας τότ' ἄρχων, μὴ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ἑλεῖν μηδένα ἕτερον τῶν ἁπάντων πρὸ τοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνος. Ἦν γὰρ πάντα ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος· Ῥαοὺλ γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρηστός, ὃς καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ μένων ἔτι καὶ ἐνταυθοῖ παραγεγονὼς οὐδένα λέληθε βέλτιστος ὤν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος πτερῶν ἐδεῖτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων, οὐκ ἐξῆν τῷ στρατηγῷ μακρὰν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν καταλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν. Ἀλλ' αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖνος γεγονώς, τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐγενῶν ἢ τῶν ἀνδρείων ὅλως ἐγένετο; Οὔμενουν, οὐδενὶ οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὔτε τῶν ὅλως μετεχόντων φρονήματος, ἀλλ' ὃς σημαίνει σάλπιγγι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ πρακτέα, τούτῳ γε αἰσχρῶς αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν ὁρκίζων ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς μόνης.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ εὐγενεῖς τινες καὶ τῶν ἡμῖν προσηκόντων, οὓς ἐχρῆν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀλογῆσαι, ὄντες τότε καθ' ἡμῶν,

---

8. πρίγγιπος: πρίγκιπος

ἤλωσαν. Ἀλλ᾽ ᾧ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ λαμπρὸν ἔστη τρόπαιον πρὸς πολλοῖς [127,9] καὶ μείζοσι καὶ καλλίοσιν ἄλλοις, οἴκαδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμψεν εὐγενῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς χρησάμενος, καίτοι μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν εὔγνωμον ἐλπίζων ἀπολήψεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς διὰ f.266 πολλῶν εὖ ποιήσας| οὐδὲν ἀπώνατο παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὧν ἐχρῆν, καὶ ἦν τὰ φθάσαντα μηνυταὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἑξῆς· τοὺς δὲ ὅρκους, πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι, οὓς κἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγροῖκος ὠμωμοκὼς ᾐδέσθη τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ διετήρησεν ἄν, οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὡς ἔοικε προσῆκον ἐνθυμηθέντες οὐδὲν ἢ λῆρον τούτους ἐνόμισαν. Ἦν μὲν οὖν σαφὲς τὸ μέλλον τοῖς ἤδη πεπραγμένοις· ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἠγάπα εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὖ ποιήσειε. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν προλαβόντων σαφῶς δηλούντων ὅπως ἔσται τὰ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνα, ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς μόνον ἔβλεπε τὸ καλὸν καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἐδεδίει μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα, ἠλέει δὲ ὡς μάλιστα. Βίαιον γάρ τι τὸ πεφυκὸς κἂν ἐκεῖνο πρός τι καθέλκῃ, καλόν τε λέγω καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον, οὐ δύναταί τις ῥᾳδίως ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ πεφυκὸς εἰς ἀγαθὸν εἷλκε καὶ προσῆν ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἕξις. Ἄμφω δὲ ταυτὶ συνδεδραμηκότα κατεῖχεν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν πάντας βούλεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτομολησάντων εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ μετὰ τῶν λύκων γενόμενοι ἐπεθύμουν μὲν ἐσθίειν τὰς τῶν πατριωτῶν σάρκας, ἤσθιον δὲ τὰς ἰδίας, τί ἄν τις λέγοι; Μακρὸν τἀκείνων διεξελθεῖν καὶ βέλτιον ταῦτα παραδραμεῖν, ὅτ᾽ οὐδὲ καλόν ἐστιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι μελαγχολίαν νοσήσασιν ἀνθρώποις. Ὅλως δέ, ἅπερ οὐ καλὸν ἦν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐμοὶ δήπου λέγειν. Ἐρῶ δὲ τί τὸ πεῖσαν αὐτοὺς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν θρασύνεσθαι μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔχοντας ἢ τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἄρχεσθαι ὑφ᾽ οὗ γε δίκαιον ἦν.

Ἴστε που τὸν Πέρσην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, τὸν [129] Εὐρώπης κύριον, ὃς οὐ φορητὸν ἡγεῖτο ἄρχοντα χριστιανὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι. Οὗτος ἦν ἡ τούτων θρασύτης· τούτου τῇ δυνάμει θαρροῦντες καὶ πρός γε ἔτι τῇ δυσμενείᾳ τῶν γειτονούντων ἡμῖν Λατίνων τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπεχείρουν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ σατράπης τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις θαρρῶν τοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπέθετο πράγμασι καὶ θατέρῳ θάτερον ἠκονᾶτο μέρος καὶ παρωξύνετο κατὰ τοὺς χοίρων ὀδόντας.

Βούλομαι δὲ καθόλου λόγον εἰπεῖν τουτουσὶ παραδραμὼν τοὺς ἀθλίους· φημὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας χριστιανοὺς τουτοισὶ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀσεβέσι περιφανῶς μαίνεσθαι τῷ ποιεῖν καὶ χείρω τῶν

---

14. γνωμικὸν mg. 27. C^{η} mg.

βεβλαμμένων τὰς φρένας. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ κἂν ὠθήσαιεν τὸ ξίφος f.266v καθ' αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰς αὐτῶν| ψυχὰς ἔβλαψαν, καὶ μίσους μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἐλέους δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὁρώντων τυγχάνουσι· τούτοις δὲ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν μολῦναι ψυχὰς διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ μῖσος ἔχειν ἐν σωφρονοῦσι, καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη σαφὴς καὶ ἐθελουσίως αὐτοῖς συμβαίνουσα. Ἐπιθυμοῦσι γὰρ εὑρεῖν ὧν οὕνεχ' ἧκον τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἐχθρούς - πλοῦτον τε λέγω καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὅσα τῷ τῇδε βίῳ τερπνά - ἀμήχανον δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν μὴ ἡδεῖς φαινομένους ἐκείνοις, πρὸς οὓς γε ηὐτομόλησαν· ἡδεῖς δὲ τούτοις φαίνεσθαι οὐ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐστί, μὴ πρότερον ἅπαντα διαπραττομένους οἷς ἐκεῖνοι χαίρουσι· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι πάντως βαρβαρικῶς τε ζῆν καὶ ἀθεμίτοις πράξεσιν ἑκοντὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς προσηλοῦν προϊεμένους τὰ μέλλοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων· ὅ τί ἂν εἴποις ἕτερον ἢ μανίαν σαφῆ; εἰ δὲ βούλει γε καὶ ταύτης πολλῷ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ πάντων σχετλιώτερον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς προδιδόναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν καθυβρίσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· ἀνθ' ὧν δὲ ταῦτα πράττειν προάγονται ἢ οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῖς παραγίγνεται ἢ οὐκ ἐπὶ μήκιστον παραμένει. Ὅθεν καὶ δίκην πομφόλυγος ὀξέως ἄγαν ὑπερφυσώμενοι, καὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες παρὰ τοῖς ἀσεβέσι χώραν εὑρηκέναι καλλίστην, ὀξέως ἄγαν καὶ διαρρήγνυνται καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τελευτᾷ τὸ κενὸν φρόνημα. Εἰκότως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ νωθρός τις εἴη πρὸς τὸ 'κείνων [131] θέλημα, εὐθὺς καταπεφρόνηται, ὡς μὴ συμβαίνων αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς· εἰ δὲ προστρέχων πάνυ προθύμως οἷς ἂν οἱ βάρβαροι βούλοιντο, μισεῖται γε μάλα δικαίως ἅτ' εὐχερὴς φαινόμενος πρὸς ὅπερ ἄν τις βούλοιτο τῶν κακῶν. Καὶ τοῦτο γε σοφόν, οὐ βαρβαρικόν. Ὁ γὰρ εὐκόλως καταπατήσας οἷς γε συμβεβίωκεν ἔθεσι, πῶς ἂν φυλάξειεν ἀσφαλῶς ἃ προσφάτως δέχεται; καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο τὸ δυσχερὲς πρόσεστιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ φειδομένως τὰ αὐτῶν δάκνουσι μέλη, ὕποπτοι γενόμενοι παρορῶνται, εἰ δ' ἀφειδῶς κατεσθίουσιν, αὐτίκα μισοῦνται καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν οἷς συντρέχουσιν. Ἀναγκαίως, ὁ γὰρ ἑαυτῷ κακὸς πῶς ἂν ἑτέρῳ χρηστός; Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος, εἰ θεωρήσαιμεν ἀκριβέστερον, καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνειδήσει μισητὸς καθίσταται, καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἅπασιν; Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν οἷόν τε τηρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκραιφνῆ, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἔργῳ φυλάττειν τὴν εἰς αὐτόν. Διατί; Ὅτι τῷ Χριστῷ συνταττόμενοι φιλίαν μὲν αὐτῷ f.267 τὴν ἐσχάτην,| ἔχθραν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑπισχνοῦνται, εἶτα

25-26. γνωμικὸν mg. 30-31. γνωμικὸν mg.

τοὐναντίον ποιοῦσι· τοῖς γὰρ τοῦ Μωάμεθ προστρέχοντες τῷ Χριστῷ φανερῶς πολεμοῦσι. Πῶς; ὅτι τούτοις συνεφάπτονται τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔργων, τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς ἐστι διαμάχεσθαι τῷ Σωτῆρι. Οἱ γὰρ συνεργοῦντες τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς πίστεως, πῶς οὐ διαμάχονται τῷ δεδωκότι τὴν πίστιν; καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων χείριστον, τό γε εἰς ἐκείνους ἧκον, προφήτην τὸν Μωάμεθ ἀποφαίνουσιν. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ μιαρὸς τοῖς αὐτοῦ νίκην καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπηγγείλατο· αὐτοὶ δὲ τούτοις συντρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ νενικηκέναι. Ὥσθ᾽ ὅπερ ἔφθην εἰπών, οἱ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν αὐτομολοῦντες μαίνοντα περιφανῶς, καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν δὲ τὸ ξίφος ὥσπερ ὠθοῦντες μᾶλλον ταῖς αὑτῶν ψυχαῖς ἤπερ ἡμῖν διαμάχονται.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐχώμεθα τῶν ἑξῆς ἐπαναλαβόντες τὸν λόγον. Συνέτρε- [133] χον ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ὅ τε σατράπης οἵ τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτομολήσαντες, καὶ ὥσπερ τις χρώμενος ἐν ἀκατίῳ κώπαις ἄγει μὲν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τὸ σκάφος, φέρεται δ᾽ αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ σκάφους, οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τε ἦγον, ὡς οὐκ ὤφελον, καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὖθις ἐφέροντο. καὶ τοίνυν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων παρακαλούμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους παροξύνοντες καὶ οἱονεί τι κέντρον γινόμενοι ἑκάτερος ἑκατέρῳ, ὥς ἐπὶ παῖδας ὑφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ᾔεσαν καὶ ᾤοντό γε καταστρέψαι καὶ παρασῦραι πολλῇ τῇ ῥύμῃ τὰ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντα· ἤνυον δ᾽ ὅμως οὐδέν. Ἀντεῖχε γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ πολεμουμένου, ἧς τὸ περιὸν τοσοῦτον ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, ὡς διδόναι πανταχοῦ κρατεῖν βουλομένῳ, εὐμενὲς τὸ θεῖον ἔχοντι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα διαπραξαμένοις οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τούτοις ἀρκεῖν ἡ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβαρικὴ δύναμις, εἰσηγοῦνται τῷ σατράπῃ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξ Ἀσίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδημῆσαι, κἀκεῖθεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μεταπέμψασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντα μὲν δεινὰ ὑπούλῳ τρόπῳ διά τινων, ἂν μὴ παραγίνηται ὑπακούσας· φανερῶς δὲ οἱ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ὑπισχνούμενον, τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ πρέσβεων, τὰ δὲ μακραῖς ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι, λυπήσειν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα αὐτόν, τιμήσειν δὲ ὡς μάλιστα καὶ παραπέμψειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηδαμῶς γε ἐνοχλήσειν τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ὥστε καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν καὶ [135,*8*]
f.267^{v} τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν, ὅ φασιν, ὑπαλλάττων ἐνεδύετο καὶ κρύ | πτειν μὲν ἐνόμιζε τὸν αὐτοῦ σκοπόν, ὁ δὲ σαφὴς ἦν, ἵνα γὰρ ἕλῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου πόλεις παραστήσηται καὶ ψυχὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματα διαφθείρῃ. Καὶ δὴ ποιεῖ τὸ δόξαν ὁ σατράπης πολλῇ κακοηθείᾳ [135,*2*] ῥάψας τὸν δόλον. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ τῷ Σατᾶν ἐξυπηρετούμενος, ᾧτινι τοὔργον οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ μηχανὰς κατὰ τῶν πιστῶν πλέκειν. Λυδὸς οὖν ἦν ἀτεχνῶς εἰς πεδίον ἐπὶ κακοήθειαν προκεκλη-

μένος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος οἴκοθεν οὐδὲν ἢ δόλους ὤδινεν, ἕως ἐδεδώκει δίκην ὧν εἰς τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἠσέβησε παῖδας.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ διέλαθε· δέει μέντοι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι μᾶλλον φιλόζωος ἢ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ φιλότιμος εἶναι δέχεται τὸν κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν· ὃς οὐ τοῦτον πρώτιστον ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ὕστατον, ἤνεγκεν. Αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐφείδετο ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἰδὼς καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ὡς τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων συμφέρον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄντικρυς κεῖται. Ὅθεν τὴν ἐκείνων εὐδαιμονίαν ἰδίαν εἶναι νομίζων, τοῖς πᾶσι πάντα ἐγένετο, ἵνα πάντες εὖ πράξαιεν. Οὕτω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν εὖ ποιῶν καὶ τὰ ἀλγύνοντα ἔφερε καὶ τῶν λυπεῖν δυναμένων γενναίως ἄγαν ἠνείχετο καὶ τοὺς μετὰ δόξης κινδύνους παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἦγεν.

Ὅλως οὖν γέμων λογισμῶν, ὧν κἂν Πλάτωνες κἂν Ἀλέξανδροι, ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῖν, ὁ φίλος, ὁ παιδευτής, ὁ φροντιστής, ὁ κηδεμών, ὁ τὸν τόπον ἀκριβῶς διασῴζων, ἡνίκα σὺν ἡμῖν ἦν, τῶν τε ἰατρῶν, τῶν τε ποιμένων, τῶν τε ναυκλήρων, τῶν τε σωτηρίων ἐξῆς ἁπάντων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ προσρήσεων καί, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν εἴποιμι, ᾧ μηδέν τι παραπλήσιον, ἀφειδήσας ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην, μὴ δοὺς αὐτῷ πρότερον θαρρεῖν ὡς ἐλεύσεται, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἀπογορεύσας τὴν ἔλευσιν, ἵν᾽ ᾖ καὶ πλέον ἡδὺς φανεὶς [137] μηδόλως ἐλπιζόμενος, καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον χαρίσηται, δείξῃ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγεγονὼς οὐ ταῖς θωπείαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐξαπατηθείς. Εὑρίσκει τοίνυν τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς Φερραῖς καὶ ἡμᾶς γε σὺν αὐτῷ δεῆσαν οὕτω πραχθῆναι, καίτοι τοῦτο ἦν ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένον, λέγω δὴ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἅμα παραγενέσθαι. Ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ταύτῃ γενέσθαι. Ἐμοῦ δὲ νομίζοντος οἴκοι μένειν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι, κἀκείνου πάλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ ἴσα, συνέβη τὸ φοβερόν. Συνέπεσε
f.268 δέ τι καὶ χεῖρον· εἶναι | γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέρσην τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν ἐξηγουμένους τινῶν ἀνθρώπων, λέγω δὲ τούς περὶ τόδε τὸ κλίμα. Ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελῶς ἤθροιζεν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι πάντας βουλόμενος, αὐτοῖς τε δεῖν ἐδόκει παραγενέσθαι, κινδύνου μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα μεστὸν ᾔδεσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠγνόουν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ σκοπόν, τούτου δὲ πολλῷ γε μείζω τὸν φόβον εἰ δόξαιεν καλοῦντος ὀλιγωρεῖν τῷ μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγεγονέναι ἄρτι πρώτως διαβάντα πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἔλυε δὲ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὑποψίας αὐτοῖς τὸ βεβαίως αὐτοὺς πιστεύειν μηδέποτ᾽ ἄμφω πρὸς τὸν σατράπην ἡμᾶς ἐλεύσεσθαι· ἐδεδίει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐ σμικρὸν μὴ κατὰ [139,7]
τῶν ἄλλων ἀναισχυντήσαντι, ἡμᾶς δὲ εἴσω δικτύων οὐκ ἔχοντι πρὸς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ τὸ βούλημα περισταίη.

Τούτων οὖν συναθροισθέντων τηνικαῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν, νέηλυς ἐκ [139,14] Σηλυβρίας παραγίνεται καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς· καὶ ἦν ὁ φόβος ἐν ἀκμῇ, καὶ ἦμεν ἄρνες ἐν μέσῳ λύκων, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πατοῦντες δ' ὅμως αὐτούς, ὄφεις καὶ σκορπίους ὄντας, καὶ μηδεμίαν βλάβην ὑπομείναντες πίστει πορευόμενοι τοῦ δύναμιν ἔχοντος σῴζειν. Ὑποδέχεται δὴ τοῦτον ὁ θὴρ ἐκεῖνος τῷ γε δοκεῖν ἀσμενέστατα, ἔπειτα βουλὴν δέχεται (οὐκ ἐρῶ δὲ ὑπὸ τίνων, ἔστω δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔφερεν) ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν πάντας ἄρχοντας. Τοῦτο γὰρ βουλόμενος πάλαι τότε δεῖν [141] ᾠήθη διαπράξασθαι τὸ ἄγος, ἵν', ὡς ἔφασκε, τὸν χῶρον αὐτοῦ καθάραντος ἐκ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, ἡμᾶς δὴ λέγων, ἐξῇ τοῖς τοῦδε παισὶ μὴ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν αἱμάττειν ἐν τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατορχεῖσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, τῷ δ' ἀληθινῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ οὐ μισθωτῷ ποιμένι οὐ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν προβάτων ἐδόκει. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τῷ στρατηγῷ - ἐκτομίας δ' οὗτος ἦν - προσέταττεν ἡμᾶς ἀνελεῖν νύκτωρ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πρᾶξαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἠπείλησεν αὐτῷ θανάτου τιμήσειν. Ἀλλὰ θεὸς ἐπέττατεν αὐτῷ μηδαμῶς τοῦτο πρᾶξαι. Καὶ γέγονεν, οἶμαι,

γεγενημένῳ· ὃ δὴ μαθὼν ὁ φονεύς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κακῶς ποιῆσαι τὸν παρήκοον, ὥσπερ εἰωθὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χάριτας ὡμολόγει τῆς ἀγαθῆς μελλήσεως, φάσκων ὡς εὐθὺς εἰπὼν σφοδρῷ τινι βάλοιτο f.268v μεταμέλῳ, ὃς οὐκ' ἂν ἑτέρωθεν ἦν ἢ | παρὰ θεοῦ πάντως.

Ἦν ταυτί· καὶ ὁ Αἰθίοψ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐδύνατο τὴν μελανίαν ἀπονίψασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐξεμέσας τὸν θυμὸν δι' ὧν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξύβρισεν, ἀποκόψας μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἀποκόψας δὲ χεῖρας καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς ἐν τέλει ἐπαγαγὼν εἰς αἰσχύνην (ἴστε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντως καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ὡς οὐκ εὔλογος), ἔπειτά με λίαν εὐήθως, ὃν ἠδίκει καὶ κατῄσχυνεν, ἐπειρᾶτο διαλλάττειν δώροις δεξιούμενός τε καὶ πέμπων οἴκαδε. Ὁ δὲ σκοπὸς φανερός· ἵνα γὰρ μετέπειτα δήσῃ τὸν ἀδελφόν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ ὁμοῦ κατὰ πάντων ἀναισχυντεῖν, ὅπερ ἐδύνατο μέν, θεόθεν δὲ τυφλούμενος οὐχ ἑώρα τἀληθές, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνῆκεν, ὡς οὐχ ἕξει τὴν ἐμὴν ἔτι φιλίαν. [143] Ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζέ με ἐξαπατήσειν τοσαῦτα μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑβρίσας, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν κατέχων ἐν χεροῖν ἔτι, πόλεις μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς μείζους ὥσπερ τινὰς πατρῴας ἐξαιτούμενος, ἐπιτάττων δὲ αὐτῷ ἃ οὐκ

---

22. μελήσεως: μελλήσεως

ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν δορυαλώτοις ἀνδράσιν.

Οὕτω τοίνυν ἔχων διαθέσεως διέρχεται μὲν Μακεδονίαν, διέρχεται δὲ Θετταλίαν, καταλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κἀκεῖ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, ἀναιδέστερον χρῆται τῇ φύσει· καὶ πέμψας ἕνα δήμιον παρενεγκόντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὠμότητι — Ὁμούρης ὄνομα αὐτῷ — αἰτεῖ τὸ Ἄργος παρ' αὐτοῦ σὺν ἅμα πλείοσιν ἄλλοις. Μονεμβασία γὰρ ἤδη εἴληπτο λύτρον μάταιον δοθεῖσα πρὸς τοῖς πέριξ πολυχνίοις οὔτ' ὀλίγοις οὔτε φαύλην δύναμιν ἔχουσιν. Ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπολύσασθαι μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν, λαμβάνων δὲ [145] προσαπῄτει, καὶ τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἔπραττεν, Οὖτίν γε αὐτὸν καταστῆσαι θέλων πύματον ἐδόμενος ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς Κύκλωψ ὤν, ἔχων τὴν ἀσέβειαν τύφλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἄντρον, ἐπεί τοι καὶ ποιμὴν οὗτος ἦν, εἰ μὴ καὶ προβάτων ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν διαφερόντων θηρίων.

Τί οὖν ἐχρῆν διαπράξασθαι; ἀπατεῶνα καὶ ψεύστην τοῦτον ἀποκαλεῖν; ἐξελέγχειν ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιές; ἀπώσασθαί τε καὶ διαπτῦσαι καὶ μηδέν τι προπηλακισμοῦ παραλιπεῖν εἶδος; καὶ τί ἂν ἦν ἐκεῖνον κερδᾶναι ταύτῃ ποιοῦντα; Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἀπέγνω ὥστε καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι. Ἀλλ' ἀντιρεῖν ἄχρι τέλους καὶ μὴ ὑπενδοῦναι κἂν ὅ τι γένοιτο; τοῦτο δὴ καὶ γέγονε μέχρις ἐξῆν. Οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀπειθεῖν διὰ παντός, ἐπισειομένου γυμνοῦ τοῦ ξίφους· ἦν γὰρ f.269 ἀτεχνῶς ὠθῆσαι τοῦτο καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ πρᾶξαι | τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ προΐεσθαι τὰ ὄντα ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ σωθῆναι; Ἀλλὰ τῷ φονεῖ σκοπὸς οὐ λαβεῖν καὶ ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν ἅπαντα τὸν δεδωκότα ἀνελεῖν. Ὥστε πορθμὸς Σικελικὸς ἡ Ἑλλάς πως πέφηνε τηνικαῦτα, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σατράπου μανία καὶ ἡ τοῦ δημίου δῆθεν παραίνεσις, μεθ' ὅσης ἀπειλῆς μεμιγμένη, χαλεπωτέρα σαφῶς ἀνεδείχθη Χαρύβδεώς τε καὶ Σκύλλης, ὧν καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι φρίκη κέκραται.

Ἀλλ' ὁ νέος Ὀδυσσεὺς οὑτοσίν, ὁ καλός σοι πάντα καὶ εὐμήχανος, πολλῶν μὲν πλάνων πεπείραται καὶ παντοδαπῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑκὼν πεπείραται τῶν δεινῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν δεόντων. Πάντων δὲ ἀπαλλαγείς, καὶ σπηλαίου καὶ πορθμοῦ καὶ πολλῶν ἐπικινδύνων ἑτέρων (ἐχώμεθα γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ παραδείγματος), ἀσινὴς παρέπλευσέ τε [147] καὶ παρελήλυθε πάσας κῆρας, καὶ γεγονὼς οἴκοι εὗρε Πηνελόπην, τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄμωμον αὐτὴν αὐτῷ διατηρήσασαν ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ

28. Σκίλλης: Σκύλλης

ἐξαναλύουσαν τὸν ἱστὸν καὶ διδοῦσαν τοὺς πειρῶντας ἐλπίζειν, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέπουσαν· ὃ δὴ τοῦ προτέρου προέχει ὅσῳ μηδὲ λόγῳ τὴν σωφροσύνην δόξαι μολῦναι. Ὡς γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἡ φρόνησις οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσασα ἅπαντα ῥᾳδίως ἀνύσει· πάντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ἐπικρατέστερος. Ταυτὶ δέ μοι νοείσθω καὶ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν συζυγιῶν νῦν εἰρῆσθαι, τοῦ τε πάλαι Ὀδυσσέως φημὶ καὶ τοῦ νῦν, τῆς τε Πηνελόπης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ζηλωσάντων καλῶς ἐκείνην.

Ὁ τοίνυν ἀγαθός σοι δεσπότης μήτε τραχυνθεὶς πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις, οὔσας γε τοσοῦτον ἀδικωτάτας ὅσον ὁ ταύτας ἀπαιτῶν ἀδικώτατος (ὗε δὲ ταύτας πυκνὰς καὶ ἐῴκεσαν τινος ὡς ἐκ νέφους), μήτε πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς πτοηθεὶς (ἦσαν δὲ αἰεί τοι χείρους καὶ ἀγριώτεραι αἱ νεαρώτεραί τε καὶ δεύτεραι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ προτέρων), μηδὲν γοῦν στύφον, μηδ᾽ ἔκλυτον ὅλως εἰπών, μηδὲ μαλακόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἢ τραχύ τε καὶ ἀπᾷδον τοῦ καιροῦ, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράξας καὶ αὐτῶν παιδισκαρίων ἀφελέστερον ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἴσα καὶ παιδὶ μικρῷ ἐξ ἀναιδείας εἰς αὐτὸν παίζοντα. Χρῆται δὲ ὧδε τῇ γνώσει· οὔτε παντελῶς ἀπειθεῖ μέχρι τέλους, ὃ κἂν ὁστισοῦν ἔπαθεν ἐπιεικῶς ἀπογνούς, οὔτ᾽ αὖ ὑπενδίδωσι τὴν ταχίστην, ὡς μήτε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς ἐνστάσεως τὸν ὀργῶντα καὶ φλεγμαίνοντα προσπαροξύνῃ, μήτε τῷ ῥᾳδίως οὕτω τῆς ἀρνή-
f.269v σεως | καθυφεῖναι παράσχῃ δικαίως ὑπονοεῖν, ὡς ἄρα τι προκείμενον ἔχων ταῖς εὐκολίαις κατακέχρηται, ἕτερα μὲν λέγων, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ δὲ κεύθων ἕτερα.

Οὕτω τῷ νῷ χρησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἦν κάλλιον, οἶμαι, οὐδ᾽ ἄν [149]
τις ἄλλος ἐκέχρητο τῶν ἁπάντων, διαφυγὼν σκληρότητά τε καὶ μαλακότητα (ὧν ποτὲ μὲν θάτερον, ποτὲ δ᾽ αὖ τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν) χωρεῖ τὴν μέσην λίαν σοφῶς καὶ ἡμεροῖ τὸν δράκοντα τέως. Καὶ τοὺς αὐτὸν φυλάττοντας ὥσπερ χειροήθεις τῇδε ποιήσας δεῖν ᾠήθη καιρὸν εἶναι ἢ τεθνᾶναι ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι. Τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου, ὡς ὁ λόγος προϊὼν δείξει. Πέμπει γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς οἴκαδε, οἵας οἱ προστάττοντες ἐβούλοντο· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου πεμφθεῖσιν ὥστε τὰ φρούρια λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονός ποτε πόλιν, συνεκπέμπει τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριοῦντας, ὡς ᾤοντό γε, τὰς ἀκροπόλεις. Οἱ δὲ σχολῇ βαδίζοντες (οὕτω γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεταγμένον) οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἰδόντες, οἶμαι, τὴν Κόρινθον, καὶ ὁρῶσι ὃν ἐπόθουν παρὰ τὰς τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδας, οὐ μὴν παρὰ τὰς τῆς

13. στίφον: στύφον | ἔκκλυτον: ἔκλυτον 33. | Ἀγαμέμνός: Ἀγαμέμνονός

μητρὸς καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενναιότητα καὶ τὸ φιλότιμόν τε καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον ἠγνοοῦμεν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἡμῶν ἐγένετο γνώμης. Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ διαδρᾶναι πολλοὶ μὲν εἰργάσαντο καὶ ἀνειμένως, ὡς εἰπεῖν, δεδεμένοι καὶ οὕτως αὖ ἰσχυρῶς, ὥστε ἀποδράσαντας καὶ τοὺς τερατοποιοὺς παρενεγκεῖν δόξαι. Ἀλλ᾿ εἴ τις τὰς ἐκείνων μηχανὰς παραβάλοι τῇ παρούσῃ, οὐδαμῶς ἀγενεστέραν εὑρήσει τήνδε, θεωρήσας ἀκριβῶς τόν τε κατέχοντα ὅστις ἦν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ, τόν τε τρόπον ὃν κατεῖχε καὶ ὅπως τοῦτον ἔωλον ὁ κατεχόμενος ἔδειξεν. Ἔσχε δὲ ὡδί. Σκηνή τις ἦν αὐτῷ πεπηγυῖα περί τινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην κατ᾿ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ ὁ ποταμός, ἡ Ἑλλάς, βαθὺν τὸν ῥοῦν ποιουμένη· ἡ ὄχθη δὲ πρὸς ὕψος ἠρμένη καὶ τῷ κεκυκλῶσθαι ῥοθίῳ ὀλίγον [151] ἀποδέουσα νήσῳ ἐοικέναι· ἡ δ᾿ ἐφημέριος φυλακή, ἣν δὲ φάλαγξ πολυάνθρωπος, στοιχηδὸν περικυκλοῦντες τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸν ὀλίγον ἰσθμὸν ἐκεῖνον διακατέχοντες ἀκριβῶς, πυραῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ ᾠδαῖς, οὐδὲ γοῦν πρὸς ὥραν ἐκάθευδον. Οὐ γὰρ φυλακὰς ἠγρύπνουν ἀλλὰ τὴν νύχθ᾿ ὅλην· οὕτω δοκοῦν τῷ σατράπῃ. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ μακρὸν ἀποτείνω λόγον, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τούτοις ἦν ἀκριβῶς ἐφάμιλλα, ὅσα ἐνομίζοντο πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐξαρκέσειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἅμα f.270 συντεταγμένα ἀλλὰ καὶ διῃρημένα καθ᾿ ἕκαστον. | Ἃ δὴ πάντα μάταια ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς πέφηνεν ἀρετή. Οὗτος δ᾿ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνταυθοῖ νεκρὸς κείμενος. Καίτοι οὔτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸ εἰκὸς λογιζομένοις φοβητέον εἶναι ἐδόκει τὸ δυνηθῆναι τουτονί ποτε διαδρᾶναι, ὀλισθήσαντα τοσούτων ἐμποδισμάτων, οὔτε αὖ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγχειρητέος ὁ δρασμὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐνομίζετο. Ἀλλ᾿ ὁ πάντων ἐναντίων κρείττων ἀεὶ φαινόμενος θανάτου καὶ νοσήματος ἥττηται ἐλεγχθεὶς ὢν ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως οὐ μόνος πάντων ἀρνούμενος. Θαυμάσειε δ᾿ ἄν τις κἀκεῖνο μάλα δικαίως (οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἔλαττον ἔχει τῶν αὐτῷ διαπεπραγμένων) πολλάκις γὰρ δυνάμενος μόνος ἢ καὶ μετ᾿ ὀλίγων διαφυγεῖν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ᾿ εἵλετο ἢ μεθ᾿ ὧν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπανιέναι ἢ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν διέδρασεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτερος, μηδένα μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ σκευοφορεῖν ἑπομένων ἀποβαλών, μήτε γέροντά τινα καὶ σεσαθρωμένον, οὐ μοναχόν, οὐκ ἀσθενῆ, οὐδ᾿ ὁντινοῦν τῷ μηδὲ βαδίζειν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, δυναμένων, καὶ διαδρὰς ὥσπερ ὑπόπτερος ἔφθασε τοὺς προαπελθόντας, καὶ τῇδε πράξας ἀπέφηνε τοὺς διώκοντας αὐτὸν εἰκῇ τὸν δρόμον πεποιημένους καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηχανὰς ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν κατέχεε τῆς αὐτῶν κορυφῆς, ἅπασι δῆλον. Διηγήσασθαι δὲ τὴν μηχανὴν τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόπον, δι᾿ ὃν κατάπτυστον ἔδειξεν ὃν ἐχρῆν, καὶ ὡς ἦν ἅπασα ἐπίνοιά τε καὶ

πρᾶξις ἀνάπλεως μὲν σοφίας, ἀνάπλεως δὲ ἀνδρίας, γέμουσά τε γνώσεως καὶ δεξιότητος ὅ τι πλείστης, ἔνεστι μέν, οὐκ ἔξεστι δέ· ἦν γὰρ ἂν δεόμενα ταῦτα τοῦ καθαρῶς ὁρμὴν ἔχοντος ἱστορεῖν. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντως εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποχρῶν καὶ δίκαιον πάντων ἕνεκα. Τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. SOURCES

Actes d' Esphigménou, ed. J. Lefort (Paris, 1973).

ANDRÈS, G. DE, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Tome II: Codices 179-420* (Madrid, 1965).

BELGRANO, L. T., 'Studi e documenti su la colonia genovese di Pera (prima serie)', *Atti della Sociètà ligure di Storia Patria,* 13 (1877), 97-317.

BESSARION, *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ, PP* III, p. 286, 24-30.

CANTACUZENUS, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV,* ed. J. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828-32).

CARESINI, RAFFAIN, *Chronica AA. 1343-1388,* ed. E. Pastorello, RIS, 12,2 (Bologna, 1923).

CAROLDO, JAN JACOPO, *Annali Veneti,* Cod. Marc. It. VII 2448 (10514).

Cartulaire général de l' ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1904).

CHALCOCANDYLES, LAONICUS, *Historiarum demonstrationes,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1843); ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1922-27).

CHINAZZO, DANIELE DI, *Cronica de la guerra da Veneciani a Zenovesi,* ed. V. Lazzarini (Monumenti Storici, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, n.s., XI) (Venice, 1958).

CHORTASMENOS, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370 - ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und Kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text,* ed. H. Hunger, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, VII (Vienna, 1969).

Chronica Byzantina Breviora (Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken), ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. CFHB, XII (Vienna, 1975-79).

'Chronicon breve de graecorum imperatoribus ab anno *1341 ad annum 1453 e codice Vaticano graeco* 162', ed. R-J. Loenertz, *ΕΕΒΣ,* 28 (1958), 204-15.

Chronicon Galaxidiou, ed. C. N. Sathas (Athens, 1865).

Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422, ed. with French translation by L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. *(Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France)* (Paris, 1839-52).

CLAVIJO, RUY GONZÁLEZ, *Embajada a Tamorlán,* ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1943.

Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, eds. E. L. a Leutsch - F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839-51).

CYDONES, DEMETRIUS, *Correspondence,* ed. R-J., Loenertz, 2 vols. ST, 186, 208 (Vatican City, 1956-1960).

CYDONES, DEMETRIUS, 'Prooemien zu Chrysobullen von Demetrios Cydones', *Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1888, 2, 1409-22.

DELISLE, L., *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale, v. I* (Paris, 1868).

DEVREESSE, R., *Codices Vaticani graeci III: 604-866* (Vatican, 1950).

DEVREESSE, R., *Le fonds grec de la bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican, 1965).

Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409), ed. A. Rubió i Lluch (Barcelona, 1947).

DOSITHEUS, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Τόμος καταλλαγῆς* (Iasi, 1692).

DUCAS, *Ducae Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia byzantina,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834); Istoria Turco-Byzantina, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958).

GREGORAS, NICEPHORUS, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia,* eds. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829-55).

GREGOROVIUS, F., 'Briefe aus der Corrispondenza Acciajoli in der Laurenziana zu Florenz', *Sitzungsb. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.,* Phil-hist. Klasse, 1890, 285-311.

GUARINI, GUARINO DEI, *L'epistolario di Guarino Veronese,* ed. R. Sabbadini, 3 vols. (Venice, 1915-19).

HUNGER, H. *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen **National**bibliothek. Teil I: Codices Historici, Codices Philosophici et Philologici* (Vienna, 1961).

IGNACE OF SMOLENSK, *Itinéraires russes en Orient,* tr. by S. F. Khitrovo (Geneva, 1889), pp. 129-57; tr. by R. Solomon, *'Beiträge zur russischen Geschichte. Theodor Schiemann zum 60 Geburstage von Freunden und Schülern,* dargebracht und herausgegeben von Otto Hötzsch (Berlin, 1907), pp. 241-70.

IORGA, N., 'Comptes de la colonie de Pera et de Famaguste', *ROL,* 4 (1896), 25-118.

IORGA, N., *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e^ siècle,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1899).

ISIDORE OF KIEV, *Πανηγυρικός, PP* III, pp. 132-99. For date and authorship see ST, 46 (1926), 6-7.

JEAN JUVENAL DES URSINS, *Histoire de Charles* VI, ed. J. F. Michaud et J. J. F. Poujoulat (*Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, I^e^ série, t. II,* Paris, 1836).

LAMPROS, S., *Ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1906), as v. 3 to F. Gregorovius, *'Ιστορία* ... v. supra.

LAMPROS, S., ed. *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά,* 4 vols. (Athens, 1912-30).

Le livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre dit Boucicaut, ed. Th. Godefroy (Paris, 1620).

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Athènes et Néopatras I. Régestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311-1394)', *AFP,* 25 (1955), 100-212, 428-431; rep. *BF-G,* II, 183-303.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'La chronique brève moréote de 1423. Texte, traduction et commentaire', ST, 232 (1964), 399-439.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce (1376-1383). Régestes et documents', *OCP,* 22 (1956), 319-360; rep. *BF-G,* I, 329-69.

MARTONI, NICCOLÓ, 'Nicolai de Marthono, notarii, liber peregrinationis ad loca Sancta', ed. L. Le Grand, *ROL,* 3 (1895), 577-667.

MAS-LATRIE, L. DE, 'Documents concernant divers pays de l'Orient Latin 1382-1413', BECh, 58 (1897), 78-125.

MERCATI, G. and CAVALIERI, P. F. DE *Codices Vaticani graeci I: 1-329* (Vatican, 1923).

MIKLOSICH, F., and MÜLLER, J., eds. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana,* 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860-90).

MILLET, G., 'Portraits byzantins', *Revue de l'art chrétien,* 61 (1911), 445-51.

Monumenta spectantia ad unionem Ecclesiarum graecae et romanae, ed. A. Theiner and F. Miklosich (Vienna, 1872).

Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium, ed. S. Ljubić, vol. IV (Zagreb, 1874).

OMONT, H., *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Supplément grec* (1-601) (Paris, 1888).

PALAEOLOGUS, MANUEL II, *Dialoge mit einem 'Perser',* ed. E. Trapp, Wiener byzantinistische Studien, II (Vienna, 1968).

PALAEOLOGUS, MANUEL II, *The letters of Manuel Palaeologus,* ed. G. T. Dennis CFHB,VIII (Washington, D.C., 1977).

PALAEOLOGUS, MANUEL II, *Διάλογος ἠθικὸς ἢ περὶ γάμου,* Cod. Paris. gr. 3041, ff. 89-104.

PREDELLI, R., *Regesti dei Commemoriali,* 8 vols. (Venice, 1876-1914).

PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des Offices,* ed. J. Verpaux (Paris, 1966).

RAYNALDI, O., *Annales Ecclesiastici,* ed. J. D. Mansi v. 26 (Luca, 1752).

'Res Gestae Theodori Ioann. F. Palaeologi, Titulus metricus A.D. 1389' ed. R-J. Loenertz, *ΕΕΒΣ,* 25 (1955), 207-10.

REVILLA, P. A., *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial,* vol. I (Madrid, 1936).

SATHAS, C., *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge (Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας),* 9 vols. (Paris-Venice, 1880-90).

SPHRANTZES, GEORGIUS, *Chronicon Minus,* P G, 156 (1866) coll. 1025-80; ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966).

SYMEON, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Politico-historical works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429),* ed. D. Balfour, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, XIII (Vienna, 1979).

SYROPOULOS, SYLVESTRE, *Les Mémoires du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople, Sylvestre Syropoulos, sur le concile de Florence,* ed. V. Laurent (Rome, 1971).

THIRIET, F., *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1958-61).

TORNIKES, GEORGE and DEMETRIUS, *Georges et Démétrius Tornikès, lettres et discours,* ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1970).

TRAVERSARI, AMBROSIO, *Ambrosii Traversarii Camaldulensium aliorumque ad ipsum et ad alios de eodem Ambrosio latinae epistolae* (Florence, 1759).

ZEN, JACOPO, Vita Caroli Zeni, ed. G. Zonta, RIS, 19,6 (Bologna, 1940).

2. MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, M.M., *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie* (1402), (Bucarest, 1942; Variorum Reprints, 1977).

ARTUK, I., 'Osmanli beyliğinin kurucusu Osman gazi'ye ait sikke', *Papers presented to the First International Congress on the social and economic history of Turkey, Hacettepe University 1977* (Ankara, 1980). pp. 28-33.

ATIYA, A.S., *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934).

BARKER, J.W., *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969).

BECK, H.-G., 'Der byzantinische Ministerpräsident', *BZ,* 48 (1955), 309-38.

BECK, H.-G., 'Byzanz und der Westen im Zeitalter des Konziliarismus', *Die Welt zur Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche* Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen 9) (Stuttgart, 1965). pp. 135-48.

BECK, H-G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959).

BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, I., *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I* (Munich, 1967).

BELDICEANU, N. and NĂSTUREL, P. Ş., 'La Thessalie entre 1454/55 et 1406', *B,* 53(1983), 104-156.

BERGER DE XIVREY, J., 'Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue', *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 19, 2 (Paris, 1853), 1-201.

BÖHLIG, G., *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner,* Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, II (Berlin, 1956).

BON, A., *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaie (1205-1430),* 2 vols. (Paris, 1969).

BORDIER, H., *Descriptions des peintures et autres ornaments contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883).

BURGESS, T. C., 'Epideictic literature', *Chicago University Studies in Philology,* 3 (1902), 89-261.

CESSI, R., 'Amedeo di Acaia e la rivendicazione dei domini Sabaudi in Oriente', *NAV,* n.s. 37 (1919), 5-64.

CESSI, R., 'Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo', *NAV,* n.s. 30 (1915), 147-73.

CHRYSOSTOMIDES, J., 'An unpublished letter of Nerio Acciaiuoli (30 October 1384)', *Byzantina,* 7 (1975), 120-3.

CHRYSOSTOMIDES, J., 'Corinth *1394-1397: some new facts', Byzantina,* 7 (1975), 83-110.

CHRYSOSTOMIDES, J., 'Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo, with special reference to the history of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377', *OCP,* 35 (1969), 123-82.

CIRAC ESTOPAÑAN, S., *La unión, Manuel Paléologo y sus recuerdos en España* (Barcelona, 1952).

DELAVILLE LE ROULX, J., *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310-1421* (Paris, 1913).

DENNIS, G. T., 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *OCP,* 33 (1967), 72-88.

DENNIS, G. T., 'Official documents of Manuel II Palaeologus', *Byzantion,* 41 (1971). 45-58.

DENNIS, G. T., *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (*OCA*, 159) (Rome, 1960).

DENNIS, G. T., 'Three reports from Crete on the situation in Romania, 1401-1402', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 243-65.

DENNIS, G. T., 'Two unknown documents of Manuel II Palaeologus', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 397-404.

DVORNIK, F., *Early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy*, 2 vols. DOS, IX (Washington D.C., 1966).

FASSOULAKIS S., *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1973).

FOSCARINI, M., *Della letteratura Veneziana* (Padua, 1752).

GERLAND, E., *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903).

GILL, J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959).

GRAUX, CH., *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1880).

GREGOROVIUS, F., *'Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως 'Αθηνῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας*, tr. by S. Lampros, vol. 2 (Athens, 1904).

HALECKI, O., 'Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident', *Collectanea Theologica*

HALECKI, O., *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930).

JACOB, L., *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières* (Paris, 1646).

JACOBY, D., 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305-1330): Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 15 (1974), 217-61.

JOCHALAS, T., 'Über die Einwanderung der Albaner in Griechenland (Ein zusammenfassende Betrachtung)', *Dissertationes Albanicae in honorem Josephi Valentini et Ernesti Koliqi* (München, 1971), pp. 89-106.

LAURENT, V., 'La date de la mort d'Hélène Cantacuzène, femme de Jean V Paléologue: Une précision', *REB*, 14 (1956), 200-1.

LAURENT, V., 'Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I[er] *(1397-1410)*.Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV[e] siècle', *REB*, 30 (1972), 5-166.

LAURENT, V., 'Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: la Néa Moni de Thessalonique', *REB*, 13 (1955), 109-30.

LOENERTZ, R-J., *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1970-78).

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Le chancelier impérial à Byzance', *OCP*, 26(1960), 275-300; rep. *BF-G*, I, 441-65.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négotiations pour l'union des églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430', *AFP*, 9 (1959), 5-61; rep. *BF-G*, II, 77-130.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'L'exil de Manuel II Paléologue à Lemnos 1387-1389', *OCP*, 38 (1972), 116-40.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Jean V Paléologue à Venise 1370-1371', *REB*, 16 (1958), 217-32.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV[e] siècle (1382-1404)', *REB*, 1 (1943), 152-96; rep. *BF-G*, I, 227-65.

LOENERTZ, R-J., *Les recueils de Lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, ST, 131 (Vatican City, 1947).

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Un prostagma perdu de Théodore I Paléologue regardant Thessalonique (1380/82?)', *EEBS,* 25 (1955), 170-72.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocandyle: le prétendu second marriage de Jean V Paléologue', *REB,* 15 (1957), 176-84; rep. *BF-G,* I, 383-92.

LOENERTZ, R-J., 'Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce (1386)', *REB,* 14 (1956), 158-68; rep. *BF-G,* I, 371-81.

LUTTRELL, A. T., 'The Principality of Achaea in 1377', *BZ,* 57 (1964), 340-45.

MALTEZOU, C., 'Οἱ ἱστορικὲς περιπέτειες τῆς Κορίνθου στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΔ′ αἰῶνα, *Σύμμεικτα,* 3 (1973), 17-25.

MARINESCO, C., 'Du nouveau sur les relations de Manuel Paléologue (1391-1425) avec l'Espagne', *SBN,* 7 (1953), 420-36.

MARINESCO, C., 'Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon', *Roumaine,* sect. hist., 11 (1924), 192-206.

MERCATI, G., 'Lettere di un Isidoro metropolita di Monembasia e non di Kiew', *Bessarione,* 30 (1916), 200-07 ; rep. ST, 78 (1937), 513-19.

MERCATI, G., *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno,* ST, 46 (1926).

MORAVCSIK, GY., *Byzantinoturcica,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958).

MORAVCSIK, GY., 'Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung', *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp 366-77.

NICOL, D. M. 'A Byzantine Emperor in England. Manuel II's visit to London in 1400 1401', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* 12(1970), 204-25.

NICOL, D. M., '*The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460,* DOS, XI (Washington, D.C., 1968).

OIKONOMIDES, N., 'John VII Palaeologus and the ivory pyxis at Dumbarton Oaks', *DOP,* 31(1977), 329-37.

OSTROGORSKY, G., 'Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire turc', *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta,* 5 (1958), 49-58.

OSTROGORSKY, G., *History of the Byzantine State,* tr. by J. M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968).

PANAGIOTAKES, N. M., 'Λέων ὁ Διάκονος', *ΕΕΒΣ,* 34 (1965), 1-138

PAPADOPOULOS, A. T., *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453* (Munich, 1938).

PAPAGEORGIOU, P. N., 'Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας', *BZ,* 3 (1894), 225-329.

REGEL, W., *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (Petrograd, 1891).

ŠEVČENKO, I., 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the intellectual trends of his time', in *Kariye Djami,* v. 4, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975).

TAESCHNER, F. and WITTEK, P., 'Die Vezirfamilie der Ğandalyzāde (14/15. Jhdt.) *und ihre Denkmäler', Der Islam,* 18 (1929), 60-115.

THOU, J. A. DE, *Histoire universelle* (Paris, 1740).

VASILIEV, A. A., 'Putešestvie vizantijskago imperatora Manuila Palaeologa po zapadnoi Evrope (1399-1403)', *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveščeniia,* n.s. 39 (1912), 41-78, 260-304.

VERPAUX, J., 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: *ὁ μεσάζων', Byzantinoslavica,* 16 (1955), 270-96.

ZACHARIADOU, E. A., 'The Catalans of Athens and the beginning of the Turkish expansion in the Aegean area', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 21 (1980), 821-38.

ZACHARIADOU, E. A., 'Manuel II on the strife between Bayezid I and Kadi Burhan al-Din Ahmad', *BSOAS*, 43 (1980), 471-81.

ZAKYTHINOS, D. A., *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, rev. by C. Maltezou, 2 vols. (Variorum London, 1975).

ZAKYTHINOS, D. A., 'Μανουὴλ Β΄ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ', *Mélanges offerts à O. et M. Merlier* (Athens, 1955), pp. 45-69.

INDICES

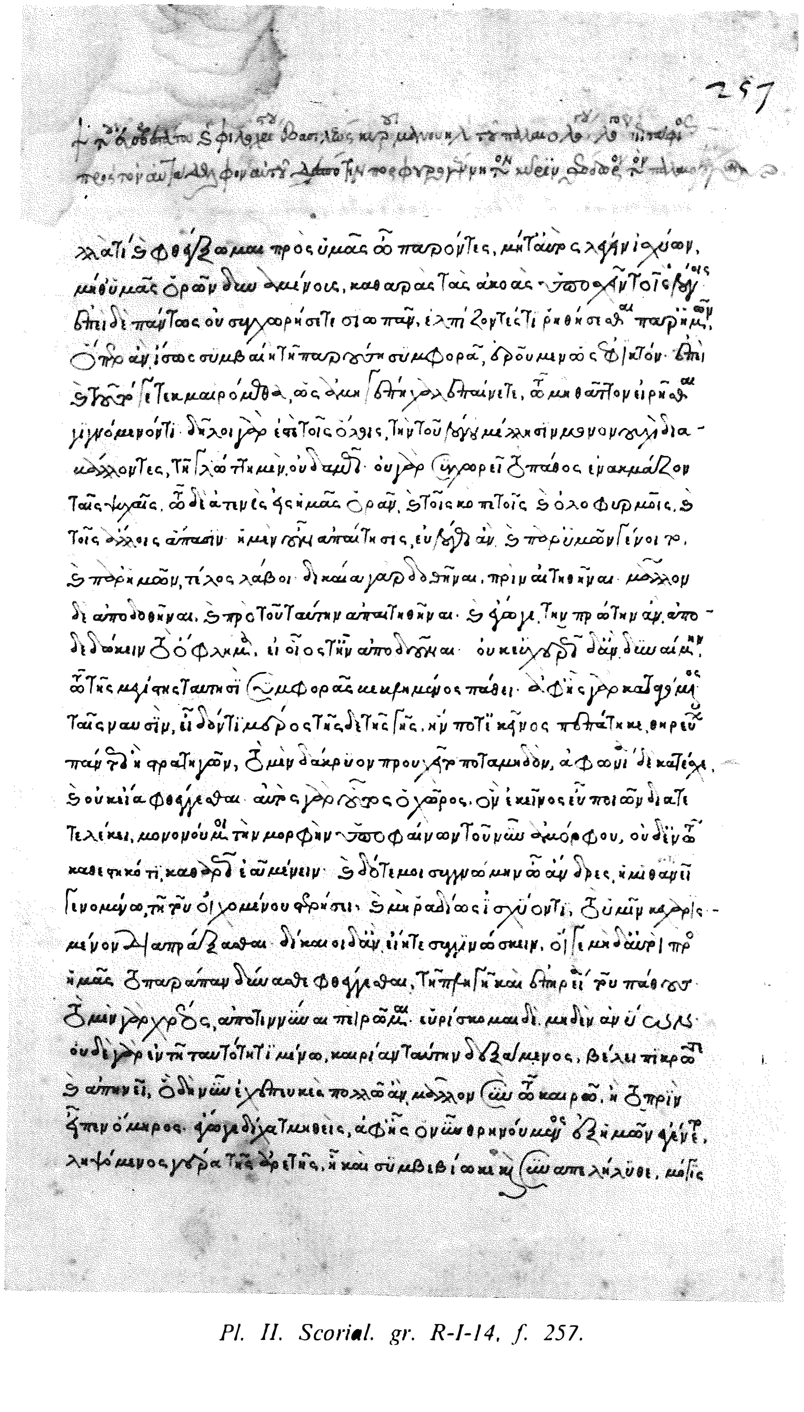
INDEX GRAECITATIS

Names in brackets are cited but not named in the text

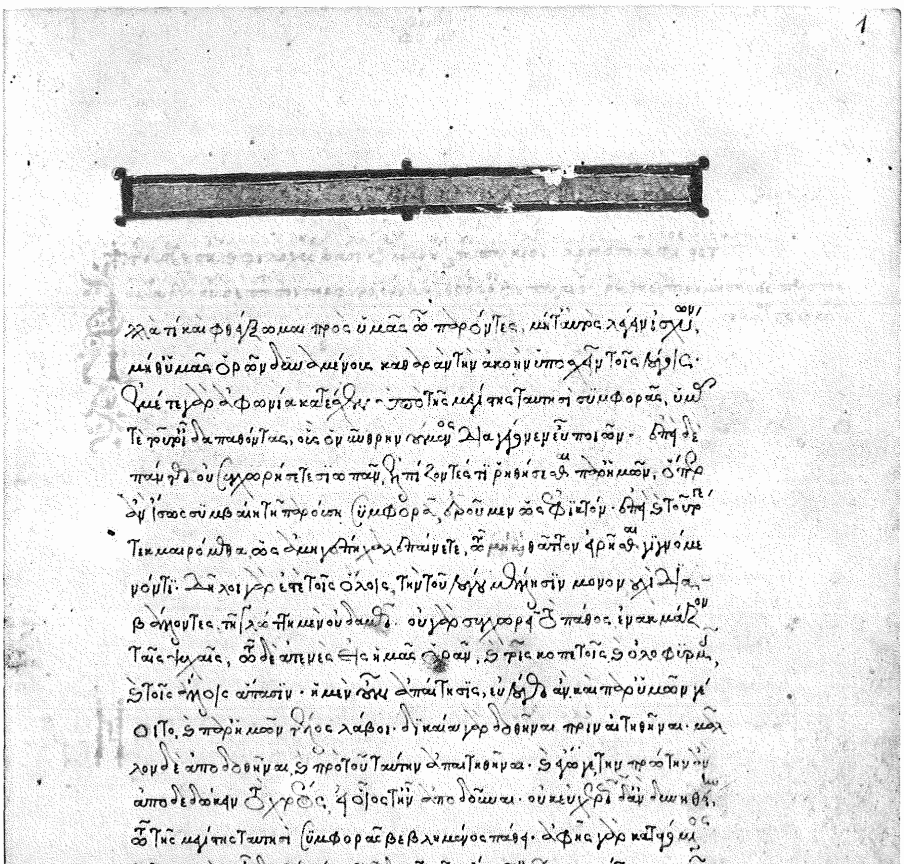
INDEX OF SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES

GENERAL INDEX

PLATES AND MAP



Pl. II. Scorial. gr. R-I-14, f. 257.



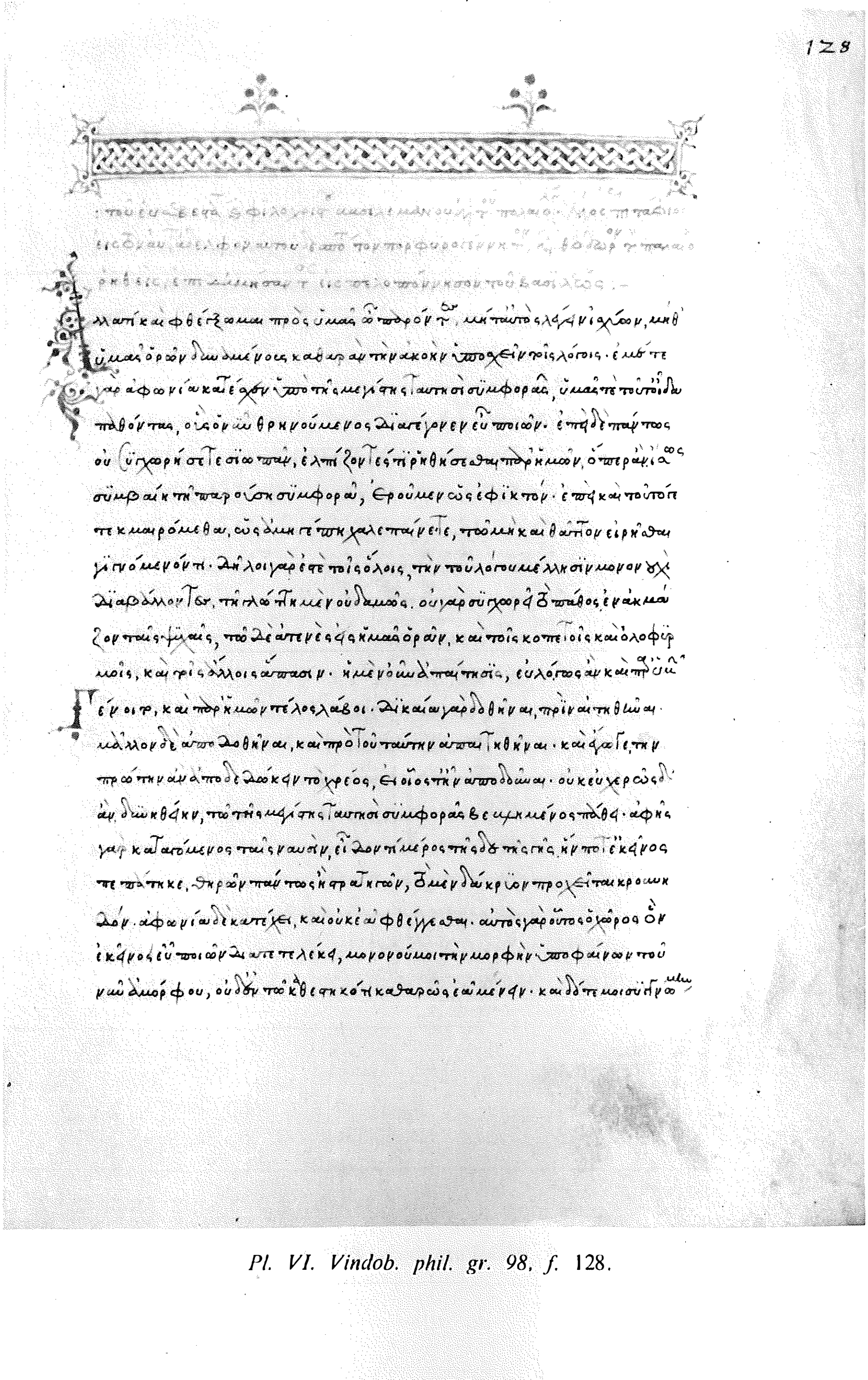
Pl. III. Paris. suppl. gr. 309, f. 1.

ἀδικοῦντας παρὰ τοῖς ἀσεβέσι χώραν εὑρηκέναι καλλίστην, ὀξέως ἂν
ἐπιδιορρήγνυνται. καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τελευτᾷ τὸ κενὸν φρόνημα. εὐλαβεῖς·
εἰ μὲν γὰρ γνωσθεῖεν τίνες εἶεν πρὸ τοῦ γάμου θέλημα, ὑπό που τοι θυμοῦ,
εὐθὺς καταφρονοῦνται, ὡς μὴ συμμαίνοντες αὐτοῖς· ἀπορροῦνται,
πῶς οὖν· εἰ δὲ ῥᾳδίως προστρέχοιεν, οἷς ἂν οἱ βάρβαροι βούλοιντο,
βούλοιντο δὲ καὶ ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν τούτοις χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ
γένος ἀφειδῶς διαφθείρειν, μισοῦνται μὲν καὶ ἀδίκως, ἕνεκα τῆς ἀσ-
τὸ γένος ὠμότητος. τῆς δὲ τοῦ ἤθους μεταβολῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου
μετὰ πίστεως, ἐπαίνων οὐ τυγχάνουσι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. ἀντιχάριτας φαινόμενοι πρὸς
ὅ,τι ἄν τις βούλοιτο· διὰ δὴ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ πιστεύονται, ὡς ἀρεσκόμενοι ἐν
τοῖς δευτέροις. εἰκότως. ὁ γὰρ εὐκόλως ἔθη καταπατήσας, οἷς συνεβεβίωκε,
πῶς ἂν τηρήσειεν ἀκριβῶς, ἅπερ ὕστερον εἵλετο. ἐπαινεῖς, ὅτι ὢν γένει
κακὸς, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δηλονότι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ καθόλου τὸ μέρος. ὁ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κακὸς,
πῶς ἂν ἑτέρῳ χρηστός. οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο θεωρήσαιμεν ἀκριβέστερον,
ὁ τοιοῦτος, καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι μισητὸς καθίσταται. ἐπῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις·
ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτά φημι, ὅπου γε τὸ μεῖζον ἔχω δεικνύναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχαιοπαράδοτον
καὶ πίστιν, οἷοί τε τηρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς φημί.
διατί; ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν συντασσόμενοι, φιλεῖν
μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔχθραν· ἔχθραν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑπισχνοῦνται· ἀρνοῦνται,
τοὐναντίον ποιοῦσι· μᾶλλον δὲ, σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν χρή, ἐπιδηλοῦσι τὸ κακὸν, ὅσον.
τοῖς γὰρ τοῦ Μωάμεθ οὖσιν συνδιατρίβειν ἐθέλοντες, καὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς συν-
εφαπτόμενοι τούτοις ἔργων, ἐχθροῖς τῆς πίστεως οὖσι, τὸ σπιλοῦν δι᾽ ἅμα ἔχουσι
τὸν δεδιδάσκοντι τὴν πίστιν καὶ φανερῶς αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦσιν. ἔτι γε μὴν δέ τι καὶ ἕ-
τερον οὐ καλὸν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ λίαν κακόν· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ οὖν διαπράττονται,
προφήτην τὸν Μωάμεθ ἀποφαίνουσιν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ μιαρὸς, τοῖς ἐξ

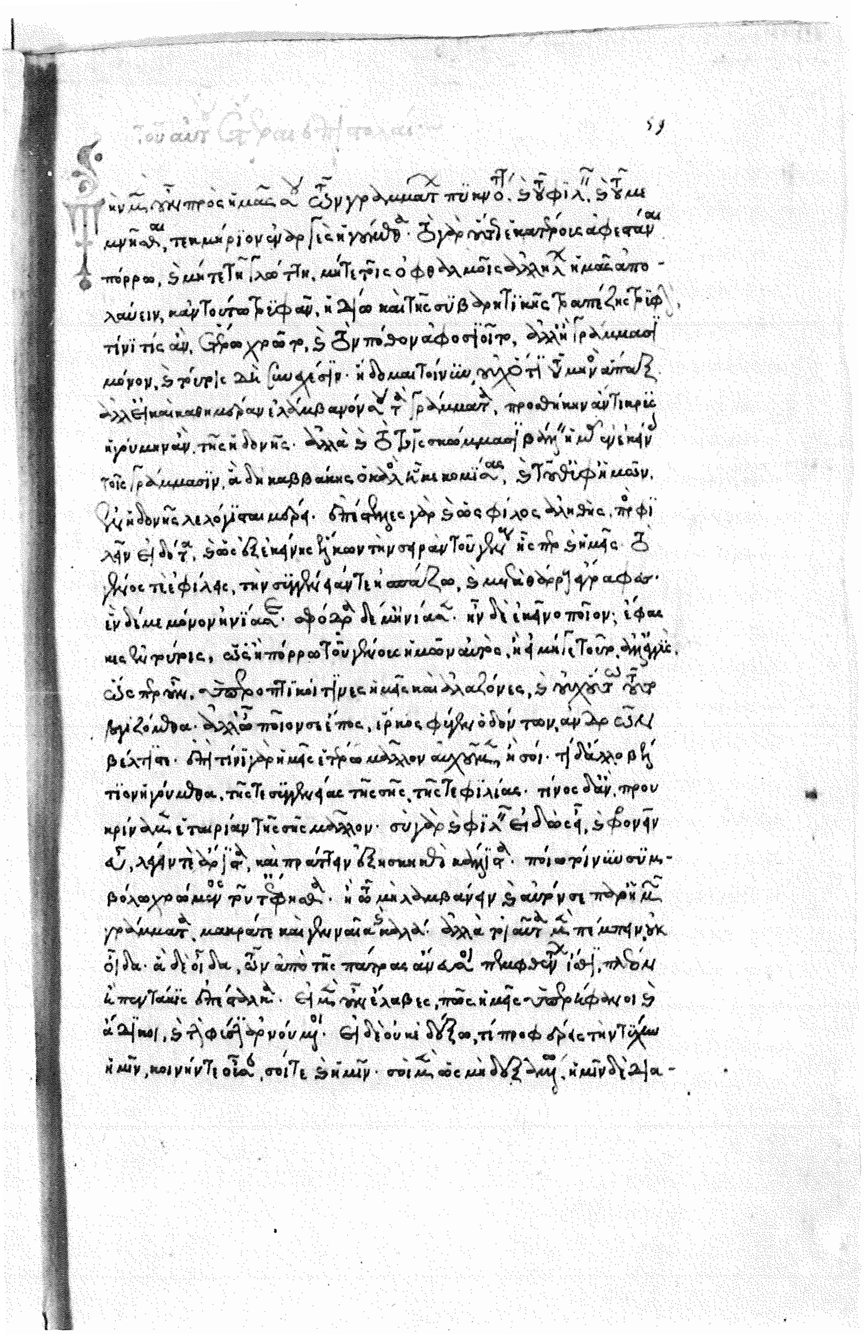
Pl. IV. Paris. suppl. gr. 309, f. 15.



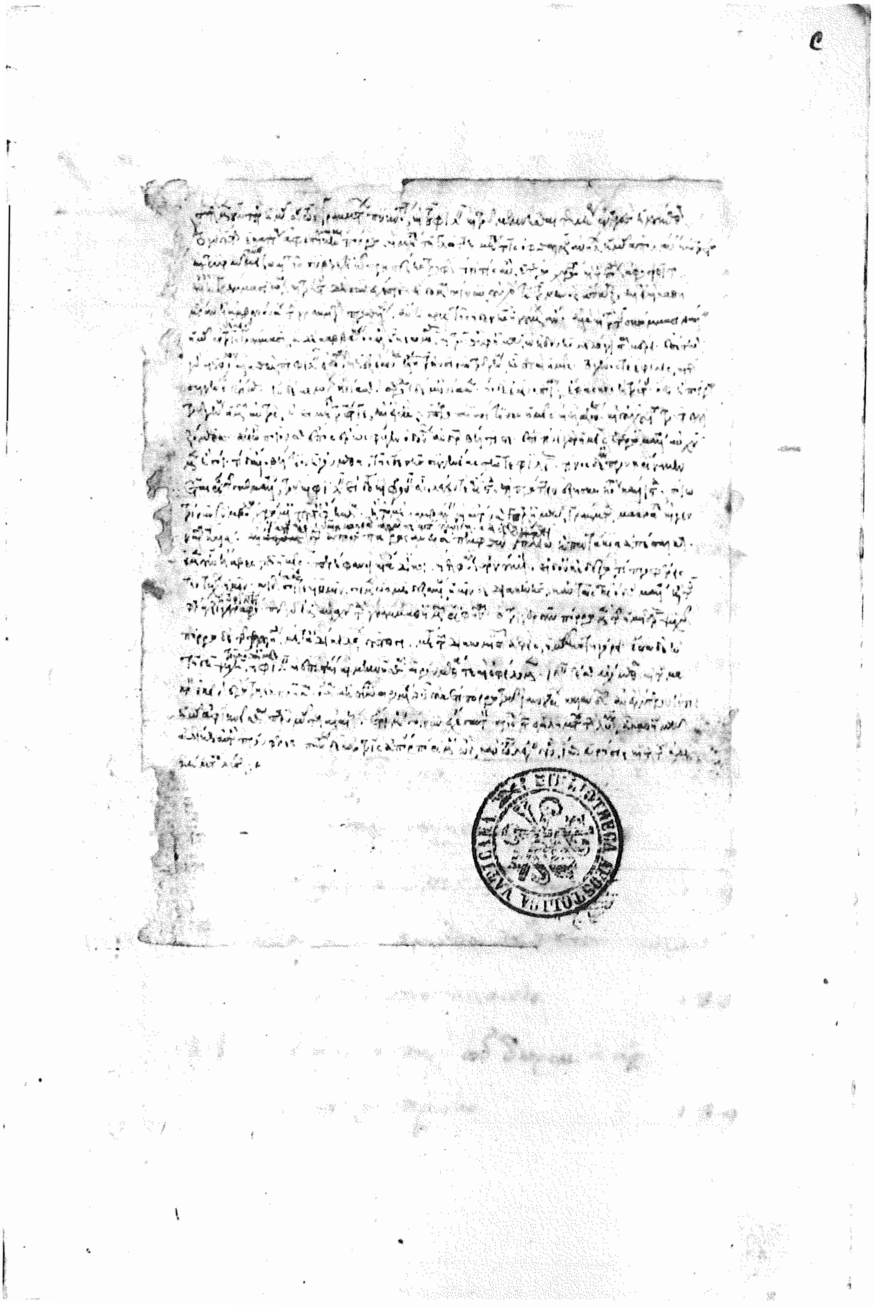
Pl. V. Vat. gr. 1450, f. 3.



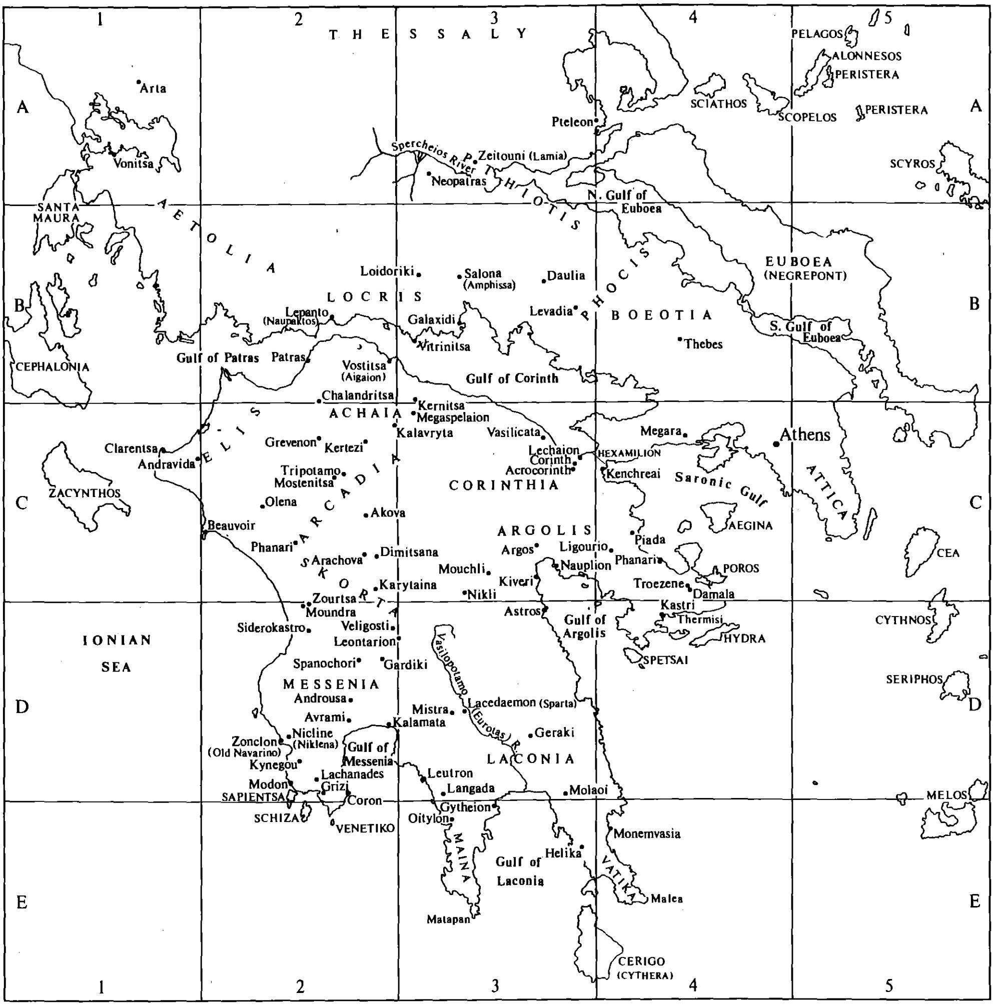
Pl. VI. Vindob. phil. gr. 98, f. 128.



Pl. VII. Vat. gr. 914, f. 59.



Pl. VIII. Vat. gr. 94, f. 111.



THESSALY
Arta
Vonitsa
SANTA MAURA
AETOLIA
CEPHALONIA
Pteleon
Spercheios River
Zeitouni (Lamia)
Neopatras
PHTHIOTIS
N. Gulf of Euboea
SCIATHOS
SCOPELOS
PELAGOS
ALONNESOS
PERISTERA
PERISTERA
SCYROS
EUBOEA (NEGREPONT)
S. Gulf of Euboea
Loidoriki
Salona (Amphissa)
Daulia
LOCRIS
Levadia
PHOCIS
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Lepanto (Naupaktos)
Galaxidi
Vitrinitsa
Gulf of Patras
Patras
Vostitsa (Aigaion)
Gulf of Corinth
Chalandritsa
Kernitsa
Megaspelaion
ACHAIA
Kalavryta
Vasilicata
Lechaion
Corinth
Acrocorinth
HEXAMILION
Kenchreai
Megara
Athens
Saronic Gulf
ATTICA
AEGINA
CORINTHIA
Clarentsa
Andravida
ELIS
ZACYNTHOS
Grevenon
Kertezi
Tripotamo
Mostenitsa
Olena
ARCADIA
Akova
Beauvoir
Phanari
Arachova
Dimitsana
SKORTA
Karytaina
Zourtsa
Moundra
Mouchli
Nikli
ARGOLIS
Argos
Ligourio
Piada
Nauplion
Phanari
POROS
Troezene
Damala
Kiveri
Astros
Gulf of Argolis
Kastri
Thermisi
HYDRA
SPETSAI
CEA
CYTHNOS
SERIPHOS
MELOS
IONIAN SEA
Siderokastro
Veligosti
Leontarion
Spanochori
Gardiki
MESSENIA
Androusa
Avrami
Vasilopotamo
Lacedaemon (Sparta)
(Eurotas) R.
Mistra
Kalamata
Geraki
Zonclon (Old Navarino)
Nicline (Niklena)
Kynegou
Gulf of Messenia
LACONIA
Lachanades
Grizi
Leutron
Langada
Molaoi
Modon
SAPIENTSA
Coron
SCHIZA
VENETIKO
Gytheion
Oitylon
MAINA
Gulf of Laconia
Helika
VATIKA
Monemvasia
Malea
Matapan
CERIGO (CYTHERA)
A
B
C
D
E
1
2
3
4
5